The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

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WOMAN AS WITCH.

Witches were always numerous compared with wizzards. Woman's first mishap in Eden has always been against her. Her devil dalliance there has pursued her ever since. Innocent, immaculate man has suffered somewhat, but it was all due to woman. *Wo-man*, was the anathema punned in her very name. Pity he ever parted with a rib to be plagued. More witches than wizards are always easily accounted for. Whole benches of bishops have found the reason to be, woman's superior weakness on the one hand and wickedness on the other. Civil rulers, from King Saul of Israel to King James of England, have acquiesced in that high and holy decision. Indeed, it was said of James that he was as proud of being Malleus Maleficarum as Defender of the Faith. He wrote, reasoned and declaimed on witchcraft, and punished it with frightful severity. His "Warfare against Old Women," as it was called, continued through his reign, and made havoc of human life, mainly of woman life. Witch detectives were part of his diabolical machinery, and their scent was keener than jackals. If a poor old creature vented her rage against her persecutors in imprecations, on them or on their goods, woe to her if they afterward suffered any loss of them. That proved her league with the fell destroyer. If in the dotage of age she talked or mumbled to herself, she must be holding converse with invisible demons, and no further proof was required. If a child sickened beyond the skill of ignorance, quackery, or the prayers of superstition to restore, a witch was at the bottom, and the child was conjured to name her (generally a *her*), and torture, the stake, or both, followed forthwith. The detectives became such experts that they could detect a witch by her cat, a mouse in her wall, or a bird on her tree. There was one wretch named Hopkins who became famous or infamous throughout the kingdom for his diabolical skill as a witch-hunter. He it was who discovered the wondrous test by water. The suspected was tied hand and foot and thrown into deep water. If she sunk, of course that was the end of her, though it proved her innocence. If she floated, that proved her guilt, and away she went to firey torments, and thence immediately to the hotter fires of hell. Many of his victims were hung, sixty in the county of Suffolk, in a single year. In Scotland the persecution raged at the same time with even greater fury. Accused persons were often put to tortures and torments indescribable. Even witnesses frequently went to the rack. Many thousands of poor, old innocents, mostly women, suffered violent and terrible deaths through this grim and bloody superstition. Religion was made to sanctify the whole abomination. Woman held commerce with the devil among the apple trees. Apple trees are supposed, the Bible overlooks the name of the fruit. But woman opened the first door to sin, and in Eve's fall (not Adam's) we sinned all. Then Moses enacted awful laws for woman, this one, namely: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live"—keynote to the frightfullest oratorio that ever stunned the ears of mortals. It rings in terror down all the ages, even unto this hour. The church has never yet spoke truly on the subject, any more in the nineteenth century after Christ than in the nineteenth before, and in her keeping is it, and ever has been. It began in theology, it abides there still; and woman is yet under that peculiar curse. Nine-tenths of the human family are yet victims to that terrible superstition. It is confined to no form of religion. No form is exempt from it. It broods and flourishes most in the deepest darkness, but nowhere yet is the fearful delusion wholly dispelled.

P. P.

MRS. O'DONOVAN ROSSA.

Since our last paper was issued, we have had the pleasure of listening to this talented young Irish woman—a little over twenty years of age. A large and enthusiastic audience in Cooper Institute greeted her first appearance in this country. Mrs. Rossa has all the elements of success. Her manner is prepossessing, her face beautiful, her form symmetrical, her enunciation perfect, and her voice, in richness, fulness, and power, unsurpassed by any woman who has yet spoken in this country. She was escorted to the platform by the Hon. Horace Greely, who was most assiduous in his attentions during the entire evening, gathering her bouquets and handing her to the front of the stage at each separate reading. We remembered (Oh, wicked Revolution) that this same Horace refused to escort his own country women to the ballot-box in New York and Kansas, and we wondered if this elaborate ccurtesy to Erin's fair daughter might not have something to do with the million Irish votes at the coming election. But the lady did recite grandly from some of the choicest poets of the day, and was received with wild applause. We hope her magnificent voice may be heard all over this land, not only in reproducing the thoughts of others, but in giving utterance to the inspirations of her own soul. An eye-witness to the sufferings of her people under British tyranny, she might speak with peculiar power for Irish nationality and freedom, demanding not only the emancipation of her countrymen from the oppressions of England, but from the sectarian and political trammels that enslave and degrade them in America.

The Boston *Pilot* thus speaks of Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa and her noble husband.

The name of O'Donovan Rossa is known all over this continent as that of the patriotic editor of a Dublin journal who stood up in defence of the rights and honors of his native land, and who is now wearing out his noble life in the convict pens of England. His wife, after the sacrifice of her husband's property by the English government, has visited this country, and turning her talents to account is about entering on the profession of a public reader. A poetess of marked ability, we believe she has already published one or two volumes. She readily enters into the spirit of the authors she impersonates, and, gifted with great natural attractions, her success with the people of this country should be assured. Her first reading took place at Cooper Institute on the evening of the 16th of June.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

BY MARY WOLSTONCRAFT—1790

CHAPTER II.

THE PREVAILING OPINION OF A SEXUAL CHARACTER DISCUSSED.

To account for and excuse the tyranny of man, many ingenious arguments have been brought forward to prove that the two sexes, in the acquirement of virtue, ought to aim at attaining a very different character; or, to speak explicitly, women are not allowed to have sufficient strength of mind to acquire what really deserves the name of virtue. Yet it would seem, allowing them to have souls, that there is but one way appointed by providence to lead *mankind* to either virtue or happiness.

If then women are not a swarm of ephemeron trifiers why should they be kept in ignorance under the specious name of innocence? Men complain, and with reason, of the follies and caprices of our sex, when they do not keenly satirize our headstrong passions and grovelling vices. Behold, I should answer, the natural effect of ignorance! The mind will ever be unstable that has only prejudices to rest on, and the current will run with destructive fury when there are no barriers to break its force. Women are told from their infancy, and taught by the example of their mothers, that a little knowledge of human weakness, justly termed cunning, softness of temper, *outward* obedience, and a scrupulous attention to a puerile kind of propriety, will obtain for them the protection of man; and should they be beautiful, every thing else is needless, for at least twenty years of their lives.

Thus Milton describes our first frail mother; though when he tells us that women are formed for softness and sweet attractive grace, I cannot comprehend his meaning, unless, in the true Mahometan strain, he meant to deprive us of souls, and insinuate that we were beings only designed by sweet attractive grace, and docile blind obedience, to gratify the senses of man when he can no longer soar on the wing of contemplation.

How grossly do they insult us, who thus advise us only to render ourselves gentle, domestic brutes! For instance, the winning softness, so warmly and frequently recommended, that governs by obeying. What childish expressions, and how insignificant is the being—can it be an immortal one—who will condescend to govern by such sinister methods? "Certainly," says Lord Bacon, "man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature!" Men, indeed, appear to me to act in a very unphilosophical manner, when they try to secure the good conduct of women by attempting to keep them always in a state of childhood. Rousseau was more consistent when he wished to stop the progress of reason in both sexes; for if men eat of the tree of knowledge, women will come in for a taste; but, from the imperfect cultivation which their understandings now receive, they only attain a knowledge of evil.

Children, I grant, should be innocent; but when the epithet is applied to men, or women, it is but a civil term for weakness. For if it be allowed that women were destined by Providence to acquire human virtues, and by the exercise of their understandings, that stability of character which is the firmest ground to rest our future hopes upon, they must be permitted to turn to the fountain of light, and not forced to shape their course by the twinkling of a mere satellite. Milton, I grant, was of a different opinion; for he only bends to the indefeasible right of beauty, though it would be difficult to render two passages, which I now mean to contrast, consistent; but into similar inconsistencies are great men often led by their senses:

"To whom thus Eve with perfect beauty adorned:
My author and disposer, what thou bidst
Unargued I obey; so God ordains;
God is thy law, thou mine; to know no more
Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise."

These are exactly the arguments that I have used to children; but I have added, "Your reason is now gaining strength, and, till it arrives at some degree of maturity, you must look up to me for advice; then you ought to *think*, and only rely on God."

Yet, in the following lines, Milton seems to coincide with me, when he makes Adam thus expostulate with his Maker:

"Hast thou not made me here thy substitute,
And these inferior far beneath me set?
Among unequals what society
Can sort, what harmony or delight?
Which must be mutual, in proportion due
Given and received; but in disparity
The one intense, the other still remiss
Cannot well suit with either, but soon prove
Tedious alike: of fellowship I speak
Such as I seek fit to participate
All rational delight."

In treating, therefore, of the manners of women, let us, disregarding sensual arguments, trace what we should endeavor to make them in order to co-operate, if the expression be not too bold, with the Supreme Being.

By individual education, I mean—for the sense of the word is not precisely defined—such an attention to a child as will slowly sharpen the senses, form the temper, regulate the passions, as they begin to ferment, and set the understanding to work before the body arrives at maturity; so that the man may only have to proceed, not to begin the important task of learning to think and reason.

To prevent any misconstruction, I must add, that I do not believe that a private education can work the wonders which some sanguine writers have attributed to it. Men and women must be educated, in a great degree, by the opinions and manners of the society they live in. In every age there has been a stream of popular opinion that has carried all before it, and given a family character, as it were, to the century. It may, then, fairly be inferred, that, till society be differently constituted, much cannot be expected from education. It is, however, sufficient for my present purpose to assert, that, whatever effect circumstances have on the abilities, every being may become virtuous by the exercise of its own reason; for if but one being was created with vicious inclinations—that is, positively bad—what can save us from atheism? or if we worship a God, is not that God a devil?

Consequently, the most perfect education, in my opinion, is, such an exercise of the understanding as is best calculated to strengthen the body and form the heart; or, in other words, to enable the individual to attain such habits of virtue as will render it independent. In fact, it is a farce to call any being virtuous whose virtues do not result from the exercise of its own reason. This was Rousseau's opinion respecting men; I extend it to women, and confidently assert that they have been drawn out of their sphere by false refinement, and not by an endeavor to acquire masculine qualities. Still the regal homage which they receive is so intoxicating, that, till the manners of the times are changed, and formed on more reasonable principles, it may be impossible to convince them that the illegitimate power, which they obtain by degrading themselves, is a curse, and that they must return to nature and equality, if they wish to secure the placid satisfaction that unsophisticated affections impart. But for this epoch we must wait—wait, perhaps, till kings and nobles, enlightened by reason, and preferring the real dignity of man to childish state, throw off their gaudy hereditary trappings; and if then women do not resign the arbitrary power of beauty, they will prove that they have *less* mind than man.

I may be accused of arrogance; still I must declare, what I firmly believe, that all the writers who have written on the subject of female education and manners, from Rousseau to Dr. Gregory, have contributed to render woman more artificial, weaker characters, than they would otherwise have been; and consequently, more useless members of society. I might have expressed this conviction in a lower key; but I am afraid it would have been the whine of affectation, and not the faithful expression of my feelings, of the clear result, which experience and reflection have led me to draw. When I come to that division of the subject, I shall advert to the passages that I more particularly disapprove of, in the works of the authors I have just alluded to; but it is first necessary to observe, that my objection extends to the whole purport of those books, which tend, in my opinion, to degrade one half of the human species, and render women pleasing at the expense of every solid virtue.

Though to reason on Rousseau's ground, if man did attain a degree of perfection of mind when his body arrived at maturity, it might be proper in order to make a man and his wife *one*, that she should rely entirely on his understanding; and the graceful ivy, clasping the oak that supported it, would form a whole in which strength and beauty would be equally conspicuous. But, alas! husbands, as well as their helpmates, are often only overgrown children; nay, thanks to early debauchery, scarcely men in their outward form, and if the blind lead the blind, one need not come from heaven to tell us the consequence.

Many are the causes that, in the present corrupt state of society, contribute to enslave women by cramping their understandings and sharpening their senses. One, perhaps, that silently does more mischief than all the rest, is their disregard of order.

To do everything in an orderly manner, is a most important precept, which women, who, generally speaking, receive only a disorderly kind of education, seldom attend to with that degree of exactness that men, who, from their infancy, are broken into method, observe. This negligent kind of guess-work, for what other epithet can be used to point out the random exertions of a sort of instinctive common sense, never brought to the test of reason? prevents their generalizing matters of fact, so they do to-day what they did yesterday, merely because they did it yesterday.

This contempt of the understanding in early life has more baneful consequences than is commonly supposed; for the little knowledge which women of strong minds attain, is, from various circumstances, of a more desultory kind than the knowledge of men, and it is acquired more by sheer observations on early life, than from comparing what has been individually observed with the results of experience generalized by speculation. Led by their dependent situation and domestic employments more into society, what they learn is rather by snatches; and as learning is with them, in general, only a secondary thing, they do not pursue any one branch with that persevering ardor necessary to give vigor to the faculties, and clearness to the judgment. In the present state of society, a little learning is required to support the character of a gentleman; and boys are obliged to submit to a few years of discipline. But in the education of women the cultivation of the understanding is always subordinate to the acquirement of some corporeal accomplishment; even while enervated by confinement and false notions of modesty, the body is prevented from attaining that grace and beauty which relaxed, half-formed limbs never exhibit. Besides in youth their faculties are not brought forward by emulation; and having no serious scientific study, if they have natural sagacity it is turned too soon on life and manners. They dwell on effects, and modifications, without tracing them back to causes; and complicated rules to adjust behavior are a weak substitute for simple principles.

As a proof that education gives this appearence of weakness to females, we may instance the example of military men, who are, like them, sent into the world before their minds have been stored with knowledge or fortified by principles. The consequences are similar; soldiers acquire a little superficial knowledge, snatched from the muddy current of conversation, and, from continually mixing with society, they gain what is termed a knowledge of the world; and this acquaintance with manners and customs has frequently been confounded with a knowledge of the human heart. But can the crude fruit of casual observation, never brought to the test of judgment, formed by comparing speculation and experience, deserve such a distinction? Soldiers as well as women practice the minor virtues with punctilious politeness. Where is then the sexual difference, when the education has been the same; all the difference that I can discern arises from the superior advantage of liberty which enables the former to see more of life,

It is wandering from my present subject, perhaps, to make a potitical remark; but as it was produced natually by the train of my reflections, I shall not pass it silently over.

Standing armies can never consist of resolute, robust men; they may be well disciplined machines, but they will seldom contain men under the influence of strong passions or with very vigorous faculties. And as for any depth of understanding, I will venture to affirm, that it is as rarely to be found in the army as amongst women; and the cause, I maintain, is the same. It may be further observed that officers are also particularly attentive to their persons, fond of dancing, crowded rooms, adventures, and ridicule. Like the *fair* sex, the business of their lives is gallantry. They were taught to please, and they only live to please. Yet they do not lose their rank in the distinction of sexes, for they are still reckoned superior to women, though in what their superiority consists, beyond what I have just mentioned, it is difficult to discover.

The great misfortune is this, that they both acquire manners before morals, and a knowledge of life before they have, from reflection, any acquaintance with the grand ideal outline of human nature. The consequence is natural; satisfied with common nature, they become a prey to prejudices, and taking all their opinions on credit, they blindly submit to authority. So that if they have any sense, it is a kind of instinctive glance, that catches proportions and decides with respect to manners; but fails when arguments are to be pursued below the surface, or opinions analyzed.

May not the same remark be applied to women? Nay, the argument may be carried still further, for they are both thrown out of a useful station by the unnatural distinctions established in civilized life. Riches and hereditary honors have made cyphers of women to give consequence to the numerical figure; and idleness has produced a mixture of gallantry and despotism in society, which leads the very men who are the slaves of their mistresses, to tyrannize over their sisters, wives and daughters. This is only keeping them in rank and file, it is true. Strengthen the female mind by enlarging it, and there will be an end to blind obedience; but, as blind obedience is ever sought for by power, tyrants and sensualists are in the right when they endeavor to keep women in the dark, because the former only want slaves, and the latter a plaything. The sensualist, indeed, has been the most dangerous of tyrants, and women have been duped by their lovers, as princes by their ministers, whilst dreaming that they reigned over them.

I now principally allude to Rousseau, for his character of Sophia is, undoubtedly, a captivating one, though it appears to me grossly unnatural; however, it is not the superstructure, but the foundation of her character, the principles on which her education was built, that I mean to attack; nay, warmly as I admire the genius of that able writer, whose opinions I shall have often occasion to cite, indignation always takes place of admiration, and the rigid frown of insulted virtue effaces the smile of complacency, which his eloquent periods are wont to raise, when I read his voluptuous reveries. Is this the man, who, in his ardor for virtue, would banish all the soft arts of peace, and almost carry us back to Spartan discipline? Is this the man who delights to paint the useful struggles of passion, the triumphs of good dispositions and the heroic flights which carry the glowing soul out of itself? How are these mighty sentiments lowered when he describes the pretty foot and enticing airs of his little favorite! But, for the present, I waive the subject, and, instead of severely reprehending the transient effusions of overweening sensibility, I shall only obesrve, that whoever has cast a benevolent eye on society, must often have been gratified by the sight of humble mutual love, not dignified by sentiment, nor strengthened by a union in intellectual pursuits. The domestic trifles of the day have afforded matter for cheerful converse, and innocent caresses have softened toils which did not require great exercise of mind, or stretch of thought: yet has not the sight of this moderate felicity excited more tenderness than respect? An emotion similar to what we feel when children are playing, or animals sporting, whilst the contemplation of the noble struggles of suffering merit has raised admiration, and carried our thoughts to that world where sensation will give place to reason.

Women are, therefore, to be considered either as moral beings, or so weak that they must be entirely subjected to the superior faculties of men.

Let us examine this question. Rousseau declares, that a woman should never, for a moment, feel herself independent, that she should be governed by fear to exercise her *natural* cunning, and made a coquettish slave in order to render her a more alluring object of desire, a *weeter* companion to man, whenever he chooses to rela x

himself. He carries the arguments, which he pretends to draw from the indications of nature, still further, and insinuates that truth and fortitude, the corner-stones of all human virtue, shall be cultivated with certain restrictions, because with respect to the female character, obedience is the grand lesson which ought to be impressed with unrelenting rigor.

What nonsense! when will a great man arise with sufficient strength of mind to puff away the fumes which pride and sensuality have thus spread over the subject! If women are by nature inferior to men, their virtues must be the same in quality, if not in degree, or virtue is a relative idea; consequently, their conduct should be founded on the same principles and have the same aim.

Connected with man as daughters, wives, and mothers, their moral character may be estimated by their manner of fulfilling those simple duties; but the end, the grand end of their exertions should be to unfold their own faculties, and acquire the dignity of conscious virtue. They may try to render their road pleasant; but ought never to forget, in common with man, that life yields not the felicity which can satisfy an immortal soul. I do not mean to insinuate that either sex should be so lost, in abstract reflections or distant views, as to forget the affections and duties that lie before them, and are in truth, the means appointed to produce the fruit of life; on the contrary, I would warmly recommend them, even while I assert, that they afford most satisfaction when they are considered in their true subordinate light.

Probably the prevailing opinion, that woman was created for man, may have taken its rise from Moses's poetical story; yet, as very few, it is presumed, who have bestowed any serious thought on the subject, ever supposed that Eve was, literally speaking, one of Adam's ribs, the deduction must be allowed to fall to the ground; or only be so far admitted as it proves that man, from the remotest antiquity, found it convenient to exert his strength to subjugate his companion, and his invention to show that she ought to have her neck bent under the yoke; because she as well as the brute creation was created to do his pleasure.

Let it not be concluded that I wish to invert the order of things; I have already granted that, from the constitution of their bodies, men seem to be designed by Providence to attain a greater degree of virtue. I speak collectively of the whole sex; but I see not the shadow of a reason to conclude that their virtues should differ in respect to their nature. In fact, how can they, if virtue has only one eternal standard? I must, therefore, if I reason consequentially, as strenuously maintain, that they have the same simple direction, as that there is a God.

It follows, then, that cunning should not be opposed to wisdom, little cares to great exertions, nor insipid softness, varnished over with the name of gentleness, to that fortitude which grand views alone can inspire.

I shall be told that woman would then lose many of her peculiar graces, and the opinion of a well known poet might be quoted to refute my unqualified assertions. For Pope has said, in the name of the whole male sex,

"Yet ne'er so sure our passions to create,
As when she touch'd the brink of all we hate."

In what light this sally places men and women, I shall leave to the judicious to determine; meanwhile I shall content myself with observing, that I cannot discover why, unless they are mortal, females should always be degraded by being made subservient to love or lust.

To speak disrespectfully of love is, I know, high treason against sentiment and fine feelings; but I wish to speak the simple language of truth, and rather to address the head than the heart. To endeavor to reason love out of the world, would be to out Quixote Cervantes, and equally offend against common sense; but an endeavor to restrain this tumultuous passion, and to prove that it should not be allowed to dethrone superior powers, or to usurp the sceptre which the understanding should ever coolly wield, appears less wild.

Youth is the season for love in both sexes; but in those days of thoughtless enjoyment, provision should be made for the more important years of life, when reflection takes place of sensation. But Rousseau, and most of the male writers who have followed his steps, have warmly inculcated that the whole tendency of female education ought to be directed to one point to render them pleasing.

Let me reason with the supporters of this opinion, who have any knowledge of human nature, do they imagine that marriage can eradicate the habitude of life? The woman who has only been taught to please, will soon find that her charms are oblique sunbeams, and that they cannot have much effect on her husband's heart when they are seen every day, when the summer is past and gone. Will she then have sufficient native energy to look into herself for comfort and cultivate her dormant faculties? or, is it not more rational to expect, that she will try to please other men; and, in the emotions raised by the expectation of new conquests, endeavor to forget the mortification her love or pride has received? When the husband ceases to be a lover—and the time will inevitably come, her desire of pleasing will then grow languid, or become a spring of bitterness; and love, perhaps, the most evanescent of all passions, gives place to jealousy or vanity.

I now speak of women who are restrained by principle or prejudice; such women though they would shrink from an intrigue with real abhorrence, yet, nevertheless, wish to be convinced by the homage of gallantry, that they are cruelly neglected by their husbands; or, days and weeks are spent in dreaming of the happiness enjoyed by congenial souls, till the health is undermined and the spirit broken by discontent. How, then, can the great art of pleasing be such a necessary study? it is only useful to a mistress; the chaste wife, and serious mother, should only consider her power to please as the polish of her virtues, and the affections of her husband as one of the comforts that render her task less difficult, and her life happier. But, whether she be loved or neglected, her first wish should be to make herself respectable, and not rely for all her happiness on a being subject to like infirmities with herself.

The amiable Dr. Gregory fell into a similar error. I respect his heart: but entirely disapprove of his celebrated Legacy to his Daughters.

He advises them to cultivate a fondness for dress, because a fondness for dress, he asserts, is natural to them. I am unable to comprehend what either he or Rousseau mean, when they frequently use this indefinite term. If they told us, that in a pre-existent state the soul was fond of dress, and brought this inclination with it into a new body, I should listen to them with a half smile, as I often do when I hear a rant about innate elegance. But if he only meant to say that the exercise of the faculties will produce this fondness, I deny it. It is not natural; but arises, like false ambition in men, from a love of power.

Dr. Gregory goes much further; he actually recommends dissimulation, and advises an innocent girl to give the lie to her feelings, and not dance with spirit, when gaiety of heart would make her feet eloquent, without making her gestures immodest. In the name of truth and common sense, why should not one woman acknowledge that she can take more exercise than another? or, in other words, that she has a sound constitution; and why to damp innocent vivacity, is she darkly to be told, that men will draw conclusions which she little thinks of? Let the libertine draw what inference he pleases; but I hope that no sensible mother will restrain the natural frankness of youth by instilling such indecent cautions. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh; and a wiser than Solomon hath said, that the heart should be made clean, and not trivial ceremonies observed, which it is not very difficult to fulfil with scrupulous exactness when vice reigns in the heart.

(To be Continued.)

WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY TO US.

LET THEM READ IT.

As the most radical of radical abolitionists for more than twenty years (see John Brown resolutions, Buffalo Convention, June, 1848), I claim the right to ask those radicals who deprecate co-operation with George Francis Train, to read his noble letter in No. 21, page 327, of "The Revolution." Whatever his failings (and who has too few of them), that letter alone is enough to entitle him to an important place in the ranks of those who battle for our most glorious cause—the emancipation and enfranchisement of Woman.

I have no sympathy with George Francis in his unjust and uncalled-for flings (deserving of censure they may be) at Garrison, Phillips and Gerrit Smith. They have done a work for humanity that entitles them to the eternal reverence of every lover of his race. But still less to be justified and commended is that short-sighted narrowness that with pharisaical self-complacence tucks up its skirts for fear of being contaminated by the touch of *any* honest (or dishonest) worker.

How can these radicals work shoulder to shoulder with Benjamin F. Butler (a life-long Jefferson Davis Democrat), and then, with any show of good taste or consistency, turn up their eyes in holy horror at George Francis Train, and even treat with a measure of distrust the most faithful and efficient workers for simply accepting his proffered help in the hour of need? We shall all soon be too wise for any of this. In the meantime, we shall do well to study carefully the tactics of that model reformer, who was not above being found in company with "harlots," or eating with "publicans and sinners."

Francis Barry.

New York, May 30, 1868.

P. P. MISTAKEN ABOUT "RELIGIOUS DODGING."

Cincinnati, June 2, 1868.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton—*Dear Madam:* Subscribing for "The Revolution" last week, the first number reached me this morning and opening it, my eye fell upon the article, "Religious Dodging." I was so struck with its unfairness, its distortion of the facts of the case, that I begin to think your paper is no *Revolution* at all. You write just as a man would, giving just so much and just so little of the truth as will point a newspaper article well.

Now, if you will take the pains to inquire, you will find the statement regarding the Methodist General Conference all wrong. The delgations were admitted (from the South) by a large majority, only sixteen, I believe, of that body voting against their admission. During the deliberation of the Conference, the speeches by colored delegates were received with applause and enthusiasm and marked attention shown them.

The Methodist General Conference is all right on this question, and it moreover unanimously ordered that the the word "*male members*" shall be stricken out of the resolution by which the members of the church were requested to vote on the question of Lay Delegation, thus giving woman a voice in this important matter.

The world moves—slowly to be sure (let us thank God and take courage)—but the cause of Equal Rights, irrespective of color or sex, gains no strength by unconsidered and flippant misrepresentations of a body of men, many of whom claim to be its earnest advocates.

Very truly yours,

J. Reynolds Wright.

You have judged right. It was one of your sex that penned "Religious Dodging," and we shall leave Mr. Pillsbury, when he returns from New Hampshire, to defend his own positions. The best thing we can do, in the meantime, is to insert your statement of the facts of the case. Is it no Revolution to have a journal where both sides of every question can be fairly stated?

THE REVOLUTION NOT WAR.

Wyoming Valley, May 25, 1868.

Dear Miss Anthony: God bless you and "The Revolution." A few months since to speak of the Revolution was to refer to the war of 1812, or the late war; but since January, 1868, "The Revolution" means quite another thing.

The "good time coming" is when we shall use the weights and handle the yard-stick, just as our brethren have been doing for so many years. Let them beware how they speak of us hereafter.

There is no reason why woman should not be permitted to defend and protect herself. True, the majority of our sex have little idea of their rights; but your determined efforts to "turn everything inside out and upside down," with the weekly visits of "The Revolution," will accomplish the good work.

Most truly yours, M.

A LAWYER'S OBJECTIONS.

New York, May 22, 1868.

Editors of the Revolution:

By chance, a few copies of your new journal were thrown in my way not long since. I read some of the articles with interest, as I have been brought but little in contact with those specimens of the "genus mulier," known as "bas bleus," or in English, the strong minded female. I find in nearly all the articles a desire expressed that the word "*male*" should be stricken out of the laws, and all regulations apply as well to women as to men.

Would you mind giving answer to a few questions in your next issue:

1. You say women are excluded from the employments of men. Now, with the exception of the bar, of which I am a member, and, in some religious sects, like Catholics and Episcopalians and others, the pulpit, I am unable to find anything from which they are excluded. They can be merchants, bankers, or, in fact, most anything of that kind. True, they may not obtain positions as porters, laborers, hodmen, etc., but surely you are not jealous of these privileges. Men cannot obtain places as milliners, dress-makers; yet they seem to bear it very well. Medicine should be open to women as well as men, for a modest woman would certainly prefer

a female to consult; but still I see no reason for complaint on the ground that men take every position in medicine. The bar and pulpit would give employment to very few women, to so few that it would scarcely pay to open them.

2. If, as you wish, each, every, and all laws should apply equally and without restraint to men as to women, are you willing and desirous that women, frail, delicate ladies, should be forced to serve in the militia, army, navy, on common juries, forced out by a sheriff to spend two or three days with low companions before they can be discharged? As policemen, too, regular night-watch and patrolmen, or subject, in case of war, to draft and conscription?

Allowing that you wish this, which is difficult of belief, that you are willing to take man's hardships as well as privileges, how do you wish a regiment formed, of men and women indiscriminately, or regiments wholly of the same sex? But according to your principles you would not desire the latter, for these women would be debarred from one of the privileges of man, viz.: that of belonging to a male regiment. Again, are you willing to resign those benefits, which a generous government has allowed to the softer sex, besides these exclusions from service of danger, hardship and peril? Are you ready to resign that "*right* of dower," or of "thirds," as called by the unlearned, of a wife to take one-third of her husband's property at his death, unless she accept other provision? A man has no such right in his wife's property. At present men is obliged by law to support their wife and family, and a wife has the privilege of running up bills in her husband's name. *She* is *not* obliged to support a husband be *she* ever so rich, and *he* ever so poor, infirm or disabled.

I think you will find, on a close examination, that the immunities of the "beau sexe," as a rule, exceed those of the other, with exception of the elective franchise.

Now, the writer is the possessor of a young and charming wife of twenty-two years of age. Two years of married life has *really* made them one. She has borne him one child. They live pleasantly and happily in an up-town house, on $7,000 a year. Do you think that he could think of permitting that pure young creature, whose world is her husband and their child, to venture out to cast a piece of paper into a box, after having waited one or two hours in a long line of low-born, ill-bred, insolent ruffians, who care little for God, fear not man, and whose words would make the ears tingle, especially of one so pure, young, tender and womanly?

My chief end in life is to ward off all storms, all ruffle and all discomfort from her I love; yes, far too well to change into a man, in manners, looks, words and dress, in fact everything but the natural and physical difference of the two sexes.

There is no doubt but that the negresses, market women and Irish servants and Dutch fraus would vote if they could, and perhaps some ladies, who may believe with you; mostly spinsters or those unfortunately married.

To question No. 1 we say, That in denying us a right to enter all the colleges and seminaries, of law, medicine and theology, you prevent us from fitting ourselves for those professions. In denying us the rights of property, the right to make contracts, and to sue and be sued in our own name (as is still the case in many of the states), you destroy our credit in trade and prevent our success as merchants, bankers and brokers. By denying us the right of suffrage you destroy our self-respect, and that of the ruling classes for us. Disfranchised classes are always degraded classes, hence we are crowded out of honorable and profitable employments. With but few exceptions, clergymen will not open their pulpits to women; physicians will not admit them into their associations, or counsel with them; and in some states the laws forbid women or negroes to study law. In this way we are crowded down into a few employments; hence the supply of labor in these branches of work is greater than the demand, and wages are low in proportion. Some women do desire to enter many departments of labor now monopolized by men; but in order to do that, it is necessary to adopt male attire; to prevent this you have made laws forbidding a similar costume for men and women. In spite of it, however, women have been sailors, soldiers, hack-drivers, teamsters, farmers and mechanics in disguise for years.

2. Yes, we wish the privilege to do whatever we can to earn an honest living, and to do the kind of work that secures the best wages. Women have been in the army and navy, and done police duty. Woman might much better patrol our streets at the midnight hour, paid and uniformed by the state, with a sceptre in her hand and a star on her brow, than as she now does, a miserable dependent on man's bounty, a vampire on society, sucking the life blood of our sires and sons. We say most emphatically, any calling is honorable in which woman can be self-supporting, virtuous and independent. God never meant the mother of the race should be a pensioner on the bounty of man. Better far man's hardships than woman's degradation. We are ready to resign the "right of dower," or any other privilege, for the right to make laws for ourselves. We do not know any benefits that a generous government has allowed us that will in any way compensate for all the wrongs, in denying us a voice in the government, the rights of property and wages, the right of trial by a jury of our peers, and the right to our own children. So long as multitudes of men do not support their wives and families—and multitudes of wives do support idle, worthless husbands—the law is of little consequence to the law-maker. We will willingly change places, and give all the immunities to man, and take the rights for ourselves.

Your family picture looks pleasant and comfortable; but, kind sir, there are multitudes of frail, beautiful women who have no homes, who are not blessed with $7,000 a year, who go to slop-shops for work, and come in contact with low-born, ill-bred, insolent ruffians every day in search of bread and work for themselves and children. Multitudes of sewing women, of widows and orphans, many born in luxury and ease, to-day struggling with all life's hardships, and no strong arm or loving heart to shelter or protect. You mistake woman's nature if you think the very best in the land will not go to the polls and vote for better laws to shelter, feed and clothe the poor, for wiser sanitary arrangements, for a more just and merciful criminal legislation, and to open to women all means of education and all profitable and honorable employments. As to the polls, when women vote, this most sacred act of citizenship will be performed in our churches; and if it is thought improper for men and women to meet in the discharge of this great political duty, why they can vote in different places. Henry Ward Beecher says he wants women to vote so that he can have a decent place to vote in once in his life.

DON'T TRUST THE DEMOCRACY.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., June 2, 1868.

Editors of the Revolution:

I HAVE taken pleasure in reading your paper. I am glad from my heart that you have entered into this great work of reform with so much enthusiasm.

In No. 21 appears an article headed "The Standard of Morality," and signed P. P., which article, I think, contains many truths; but, the last paragraph stated that, "If the democracy would build a platform making *educated* but *impartial* suffrage its corner-stone, nominate Chief-Justice Chase as their candidate, kill copperheadism, cease to proscribe the colored race, etc., the very stars in their courses would fight for them." I inter from this, that you would commit the "THE REVOLUTION" to their support. Am I right? If so, let me beg of you, trust not your interests in such hands. When did the democracy ever keep their promise? or when did one coming out from them to the other party ever prove true, after having been elevated to office? They would consent to anything as a platform which would secure help to elect their candidate, and then turn round to you and say, *impartial suffrage* means nothing, except to blind the eyes of a few foolish *women*, and through their influence, to gain the votes of their still more foolish husbands.

There is no truth in them. "Though you should bray them in a mortar with a pestle, yet would not their deception depart from them." I do not speak ignorantly in this matter. I have had great reason for my opinion of them. In fact, I was cradled in the very arms of the democracy, and in early life had a peep behind the scenes, from which, even then, young as I was, I turned with disgust. And I assure you that thirty years experience, partly in New England, and partly in the West, has only deepened that feeling, until I loathe the very name, sacred as the word should be to every American. What right have they to it? Hear the exact words of one of the "tax payers" of the party (and, by the way, one who would rush to the support of such a party as P. P. describes). He said to me in presence of his wife (God pity her), that he honestly thought that "our government should enact laws prohibiting the wives and daughters of poor men who were obliged to support themselves from aspiring to anything but domestic labor, and then men of means could have a better class of help in their kitchens." This monster breathes the pure air of this beautiful city.

Dear friends, let me say to you again, cast not your precious pearls before *such swine*. I do know them to be the most bitter enemies of the class they call "strong-minded women."

Another objection, more potent still, is "their war record." How can any wife, mother or sister of our *dead soldiers* have any faith in the party whose hands are still red with the blood of their husbands, sons and brothers? And how can Chief-Justice Chase accept the nomination of such a party? I have had great faith in him as a fearless champion of the oppressed. But if he can stoop to be a candidate of the so-called democratic party I can only say, "*how are the mighty fallen*," and pray that "THE REVOLUTION" will stand on its own pure principles, and say, "My soul, come not thou into their secrets, and to their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united." Cannot the friends of women work and wait, as they have done, until the good time shall come when God in His justice shall crown our cause with success? I, for one, am willing to wait another four years; for by that time both parties will have accomplished their own ruin, and then the people will, with one accord, reach out their hands to intelligent, impartial suffrage as their only salvation. That they have already reached the point where the republicans are obliged to go to the democrats for an available candidate for their leader, and *vice versa*, is proof that the destruction of both is at hand. Therefore, let us work and wait, hoping that, when the crash of parties shall have past, enough will be found who have not defiled their garments, to unite with us, and build up a party, whose principles shall never be sold as merchandize.

M. W. C.

MORE MOUNTEBANKS.

HARTFORD, Conn., June 15.

Editors of the Revolution:

Your paper grows better and better. I was struck with a remark one of your correspondents made (from Boston, I think). She said, "While you ('REVOLUTION') fed her hungry soul, you made her more hungry." There is a world of philosophy in that. It is worthy of Emerson himself. It shows that "THE REVOLUTION" deals out the true article. Soul only can meet soul, can feed it and make it hungry at the same time. I thank this woman for putting into a few simple words a feeling I have often had in the course of my life without ever thinking of expressing it. Another writes that she "draws a long breath of gratitude when the carrier brings her 'REVOLUTION' every Saturday morning." And who can estimate the amount of good it is carrying to hundreds of weary hearts, and into nooks and by-ways we little dream of? And but one little "REVOLUTION" throughout this whole land! What a mission, and what a field to work in! If George Francis Train is the one who set it revolving, let us sound him a pæan of praise. Mountebank is the name he chiefly goes by; but if mountebanks don't drink, nor smoke, now chew, nor swallow drugs, nor follow any kind of licentiousness, but, on the contrary, set "REVOLUTIONS" whirling on their axes, heaven send us a plentiful harvest of them. More mountebanks, say I. Vive le Train!

Yours sincerely, F. ELLEN BURR.

SELF-OPENING umbrellas are now displayed in the shop windows. It is to be hoped that, unlike some self-made men, they will know when to "shut up"

VASSAR COLLEGE.

MATHEMATICAL SEXOLOGY.

From the *Transcript*, a handsome, spicy, eight-page sheet, published by the students of Vassar Female College, we take the following analytical section of Dr. Holland's august (but in that college rather unpopular) lecture on women:

"Had we not long since made sufficient advancement in the intellectual life to decide that man is *not* our 'Author and Disposer,' we might have been consumed by the devouring elements of Dr. Holland's eloquence. Happily he could not quiet our struggling ambitions by his laborious efforts to convince us that we are household angels.

"According to biblical teaching, man is 'lower than the angels;' but, according to *his* teaching, we, though angels, are a *little* lower than men. Our angelic spirits were sorely tried in hearing a dissertation on marriage, its fruition, happiness, etc., instead of a successful reply to Tilton's broad idea of a sphere for woman. The doctor, though a finished rhetoritician, is a little vague in his mathematics, when with woman in the centre he describes the family *circle*, and calls that her sphere. Geometry teaches that a circle is only a section of a sphere, and in a perfect sphere the number of circles is infinite. Shall not the unhappy fate of Andrew Johnson, who, forgetting the sphere of a President, 'swung around the circle,' admonish us to fit ourselves for woman's perfect sphere, whether or not it shall contain a golden circle which may be fitted to our finger? Perhaps in audiences in Dr. Holland's native state, where there is one man to every four women, these sentiments might be well received, but to exhort three hundred and fifty maidens to cling to their husbands, and guide the dear children, was mockery."

SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT.

HEARING BEFORE A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Some time since, Hon. Henry D. Washburn, M.C. from Indiana, presented a bill, accompanying a petition of eighty women of the district, which reads thus:

"Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act, no person shall be debarred from voting or holding office in the District of Columbia by reason of sex."

On Saturday morning last a deputation from the District Franchise Association appeared, by appointment, before the House Committee of the District, to urge the passage of this or a like bill.

Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing opened by saying that the friends of Equal Freedom for Women in the District had thought the revision of the local government a fit time to present their claims, and had by Committee of the Association chosen Prof. Willcox to draft and submit a memorial, setting forth the safety, justice and necessity of passing the bill before the committee, which professes to remove the restrictions that forbid women to vote in the district. The movement is not wholly new, and was known by those who were active in it to be approved by a large mass of women who were not prepared to express themselves openly. The enfranchisement of woman is needful to a real reconstruction, and the government need the female element to complete its functions.

Prof. J. K. H. Willcox read a memorial, drafted by himself and signed by a committee of residents of the district, consisting of eleven ladies and eleven gentlemen (including Mrs. Griffing, Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, Miss Lydia Hall, formerly of Kansas, Mrs. Annie Denton Cridge, Judge A. B. Olin and Mrs. Olin), recalling the fact that Congress had freed the 3,000 slaves and enfranchised the 8,000 colored men of the district, both of which experiments had worked well, notwithstanding conservative arguments, predictions and efforts to the contrary; and showing that the same opposition was made to this new and greater experiment of freedom as had turned out to be mistaken in the former cases; inferring that, while the former experiments, on a small scale comparatively, had yielded rich results, so this enfranchisement of half the adult population would produce vast good. He incidentally answered the usual arguments against suffrage, and affirmed that those who possessed neither the power of wealth nor that of knowledge, wherewith to protect themselves, most needed political power for that purpose. He remarked that the competition for votes among politicians was a tremendous educating force, and that laws would not be certain of enforcement unless those for whose benefit they were made were clothed with power to compel such enforcement.

Mrs. Mary T. Corner presented a number of points as to the laws of the district relating to women, of some of which Judge Welker took notes, with a view to their speedy investigation by the committee. As to suffrage, she pointed out that women do not come under the heads of paupers, minors, felons, rebels, idiots nor aliens, and that the reasons that exist for the disfranchisement of such persons do not apply to native-born, loyal women. She showed that women are not represented in the government of the district, though taxed by it, and by law cannot properly protect themselves, their children, or their property, nor hold municipal office, however fit. A wife cannot hold property in the disirict except by proxy. Women understand their needs and condition better than men, and should be free to regulate them. The swarms of foreigners who are freely admitted to the polls know less of our institutions and country than the masses of our women. Women have voted and held the highest offices in other countries with great success. Are our women less capable than these?

At the conclusion of the proceedings, Prof. Willcox returned thanks to the committee for their attention; and the latter, without expressing an opinion on the matter, complimented the speakers on the ability and eloquence with which their views had been presented.

It was also stated that a large number of petitions would be presented in support of the bill. The committee expressed themselves as unable, by reason of the lateness of the session and the pressure of other business, to promise an early report. The interview lasted about an hour, and was very cordial and pleasant on both sides.

SOCIAL SURGERY.

FOURTH ARTICLE.

As society now stands, dress and religion bound the feminine horizon. The tyrannous and degrading laws continued from barbarous ages have compelled the female mental capacity to concentrate upon these two points; hence religion is perverted and dress become a madness.

Buckle says, "the needs of one generation are no measure of the wants of another," and the words are oracular when applied to the social and political condition of the nineteenth century.

All those devoted to fashion are not devoted to prayer, but nearly all those who are devoted to prayer are strict followers of fashion. Were the evils of this perversion and madness confined to these two classes, and the only result that of taxing labor, for the support of numberless nondescripts, individually they might pass away into their graves without comment, leaving nothing behind them save the memory of their burthensome worthlessness. But the effect of one and the example of the other join issue over thousands of ruined women and girls. Dress, like an *Ignis-fatuus*, lures them on, while religion, grim-visaged and implacable, stands sentry over the narrow pass, preventing none to enter, but allowing none to return, all the Christian institutions to the contrary notwithstanding,

The fear of exposure, followed by social ostracism would be a bar to the unbridled passions of men; but Christian women open their hearts and homes to the libertine, and close them mercilessly to his victim.

By so doing they not only help to perpetuate the evil which they pretend most to abhor, but give the libertine ample opportunity to perfect his art by practice in their own homes. Nothing is sacred to him. Friendship, kindness, courtesy, all are weapons to be used against the giver if chance offers; and where there is sorrow and want, there he revels, knowing that sympathy and assistance are the short cuts to a woman's heart.

Every fashionable woman of the city and every Christian newsmonger of the country—hundreds of girls are ruined by anticipation on the principle of give a dog a bad name and hang him—who countenance libertines, may each find a representative of their example in the desolate and dissolute crowd of night-wanderers who fill our streets. Although men are bad enough to deceive and desert, yet they leave the vilest part of their vile work—that of making the fact public and wide-spread—to the refined (!) and delicate of the other sex. In many instances men would make wives of their victims, thereby making both better, were it not for female friends and church members.

Country people are proverbial for their piety, but out of two thousand New York prostitutes, of whom inquiry was made, more than one-fifth (in exact numbers 440) were the daughters of farmers; less than one-tenth were city born; 1,937 had the benefit of early religious training, and 1,909 were still believers in the precepts taught them in youth. Thus much for putting the young shoot in an orthodox box with the determination of giving it but one idea, and not allowing room for the growth of that.

Some, in their growing strength, burst their bonds and run wild, while those who are dwarfed to their narrow confines remain to repeat the process on the next generation.

Chastity is the natural inheritance of woman, and there is no particular merit in its possession, save when it has withstood the test of temptation.

No pure and noble woman will try to exhibit *her* virtue to beholders by sneers or laughter at a fallen and helpless sister. Doubtless, one-half the temptation or poverty which sufficed for her downfall, would cause the horrors of prostitution to take—at least a back seat in the brains of these same self-righteous women. Such women should be not only, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion, but also above comparison.

When we see a physical deformity we do not look that way so much as we otherwise would in the fear of wounding the feelings of the unfortunate: why not show the same delicacy toward mental deformity?

Female Suffrage will find its most bitter opponents among religionists. The church has its support mainly through the female members, and the clergy are supported by the church; consequently the clergy will be leaders in the opposition, as their place and prosperity depend upon the continuance of religious superstition, and their success in opposing all forms of progress which would tend to revolutionize them out of power and place.

Servant girls are seduced by their masters through their desire to ape the style of their mistresses—oftentimes through their aversion to seeking a new home every few weeks, not knowing how many changes would be necessary before reaching a place free from persecution—sometimes to purchase the consideration due them as human beings, and which is denied them by mistresses.

Little street beggar girls are beckoned into back offices and there get their first lesson in the life which promises fine clothing equal to that worn by the gaudily-dressed woman who brushed past her as she entered; and said woman the wife, mayhap, of the very Christian and moral man within.

At the last lecture given by Anna Dickinson at Steinway Hall—a place and occasion where one would look to find the most intellectual people in the community—I kept my ears open in my slow passage out, so that I might judge in some degree the state of the public pulse on the vital question placed so vividly before them. I could scarcely credit my own senses, but the remarks of six fine-faced women (the only ones I heard, too) were about Miss Anna Dickinson's—sleeve puffs! My reflections on the up-hill work of reformers were not pleasant.

Prostitution will continue unabated just so long as the female mind is narrowed by religion and distorted by this mania for dress.

Most women who have husbands or fathers to supply their wants or gratify their wishes, coax, scold, and *deceive* in order to meet the requirements of fashion, why wonder, then, that the friendless and destitute are driven to worse measures? You may use the scalpel of expediency, politics, and prayer, my philanthropic readers, till the last days of your three score and ten, upon this matchless moral sore, without perceptibly diminishing its bulk or beastliness, unless there is an entire and radical change in the whole body politic; and the first step in that direction is universal and impartial suffrage.

Fashionable devotees will oppose it, passively of course; just as they are passively opposed or disposed toward all things, save their beloved wardrobe. However, they are a hopeful class, withal, only sleeping away their life in mental lethargy under the powerful opiate of too many clothes; but the majority have the germ of development, and national responsibility to them, will create an intellectual equilibrium which will force minor subjects into their normal place and condition.

All articles of clothing, then, beyond necessities for cleanliness and *elegance*, will become vulgarities and badges of distinction between the noble and the ignoble; husbands will no longer be compelled to strain their honesty to its last tension (often beyond it) that peace may be purchased in the household by the successful rivalry of wives.

Religion, if it does not assume the Christ-like simplicity of doing "to others as you would that others should do unto you," will at least become sufficiently elevated to allow its followers a glimpse beyond themselves.

S. F. N.

Nothing could be more charming than the sweet charities that pervade the private life of Jean Ingelow. Thrice in each week she gives a charity dinner, largely supplied from her own means. This she calls her "copyright dinner."

LONDON CORRESPONDENCE.

LONDON, May 25, 1868.

"God made the country, but man made the towns."

THE dwellers within the towns may see the result of their handicraft if they will but drop the veils from their eyes. Neither must they turn from the right to the left, because the object first seen bears a hideous aspect, and so cast their eyes to the left, where stands a fairer thing. Many of us who think ourselves wondrous wise cannot, because we will not, see the pitiable sores that fester beneath their seemingly comely coverings. Ploddingly we trot round our mill-wheel life-long walk, like the poor old blind horse who turns the mill-crank. Nothing can we see, nothing will we see, save that which meets with the approbation of our "Brummagen" modesty, as unlike real true and pure modesty as the quack, quack of the waddling duck is to the song of the heavenward soaring sky-lark. Thus the snug ordinary citizen will take his daily walks abroad and see no greater evil in the streets than the mud which soils his polished boots, while right hand, left hand, all around him are evil things growing, evil deeds enacted, and evil effects, falling with worse than killing powers upon the innocent.

Who will draw aside the curtain?

It is the glory of a free press to declare war upon all evils, political or social. But, stop! Do the soldiers who serve under its folds always claim or carry out that trust, that duty? How many daily or weekly journals, either in tradition-encumbered England, or vast and many-sided America, dare to speak out with the unfaltering voice of "THE REVOLUTION" upon our social curses, taking one only as a test-question—the social evil? None—no, not one.

I will not presume to tell the able editors of this journal the duties of their position when they deal with these far-reaching plagues. That would be presumption, indeed. I only know that beneath the surface of prostitution exists another evil, the effects of man's ignorance and sin, eating into the manhood and womanhood of not a part but of the whole nation.

Society is so environed around about with notices of "trespassers, beware," that I pause. My difficulty is to write what I want to write without causing a blush to rise to the cheeks of innocence. For the virtuous have a right to expect to not have their pure minds surprised into dismal channels of knowledge from which they in a measure have the right to be protected. Yet it is to these we turn for aid in overcoming the evils of our own creating, surrounding us upon every hand.

Virtue has a right to protection. Modesty should not have given unto it cause to blush. Yet, if the pure will not assail evil things, evil doers will be the last to move towards virtue, crying, "demolish us."

Then, like Walt Whitman's typical woman, "The gross and soil'd she moves among do not make her gross and soil'd."

We will take up a theme replete with horrors. Well do we know that one sin makes many. They tramp upon each other's heels. Thy case, woman, is harder than that of man. Why? The future will show us the cause. If one of our sisters be led to make one false step, a single lapse from virtue, all hands are thrust forth to plunge the poor one deeper and deeper. Forsooth, the owners of the hands boast that they are clean. Society closes up all the avenues by which access can be regained to its mercy. If the mercy of God is no greater towards these poor fallen women than the mercy of society, then, indeed, would the light entirely leave their hearts, hope their souls, the woman their forms, until naught would be left but a soulless, helpless demon. Does society wrong these social outcasts? Assuredly. Woman cannot protect herself under the present system, and man will not. The fact that so many women in our towns are outcasts proves their wrongs are, great. Their revenge is ten times more terrible. How so, say you? Read the faint hints (I dare not tell the whole truth, for if I did you would tear the page across and call me liar) I give below. Read and digest this shadowing forth of England's "social evil's" revenge, then ask yourselves is there nothing in America like unto England's household skeleton.

In England attention has been called to the subject for many years past by medical works, through the columns of such journals as the *Lancet*, more prominently by the revelations of our law courts, where some of the many vile charlatans (who live upon their victims who know no better than to trust them, society aiding the quacks by shrouding the evil with a curtain of pernicious moleishness) have been exposed. Still more recently and effectually by the "Contagious Diseases Act," passed in 1866, and by the efforts which a society formed for the purpose is making to extend the provisions of the act to every large town in this kingdom. May the society prosper in its efforts to master the hideous thing which through the guilty strikes the innocent, and so creeps through the land.

The act referred to above only applies to garrison towns. Let us see if we can form any idea of the need. Taking only the home regiments of the British army I find that in 1865 they numbered 73,000 men; from this total there were 68,000 admissions to hospitals for all ailments and out of that number 20,600 were admitted for the kind in question.

Mr. Berkeley Hill, the secretary of the society, has collected facts here that are so appaling that I have no language to indicate their character. The whole system of our home barrack life reeks with horrid abominations. Some months since an able article by some chance appeared in a London paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, upon this plague. I quote the following extract wherein the writer comments and adds, too, Mr. Hill's facts:

"One woman in a garrison town 'explained' to Mr. Hill that she had for months been in such a condition that she ought to have been seized and secluded, for the safety of those on whom she preyed—nay, in mercy even to herself. But she had 'managed' to carry on her calling without interruption by stupefying herself night after night with stimulants. In another garrison town a beershop keeper was visited, who had surrounded his back-yard with little huts or kennels, which he let out for 2*s.* weekly, to large numbers of women, for the purposes of their trade, upon condition that they brought him in soldiers to drink a sufficient quantity of his liquor. We could multiply such examples; but we are merely hinting the nature of these illustrations, and let no one dream, because we take these figures from the lower classes and the rank and file, that the plague rests there. It might, if vice were not common to high and low: but hundreds of practitioners can testify to the wide-spread extent of the scourge in the middle and upper grades; and, as we have observed, the deadly influence extends to those who neither deserve nor know it. Enough to say that the practice of one London doctor, and the books of one Oxford or Cambridge chemist, would show that we do not stop because sad facts fail us."

I have a few statistics collected from various sources. After writing them I shall conclude my present task.

The Rescue Society informs us that out of 1,050 women applying for admittance in one year, 314 were affected. At the Magdalen, where all diseased applicants are refused admission, 59 out of 284 had yet come to the gates in this state. At the Lock Hospital (where this disease is specially treated) during 1867, *thirty-six per cent.* of the out-patients were married women fearfully infected, yet wholly devoid of blame to themselves. At St. Bartholomew's Hospital about one-half of the out-patients are victims to this plague, worse in its effects than cholera. At Guy's Hospital about 43-4 per cent. seek relief from these diseases. It may with truth be stated, that at the other hospitals the ratio is between one-third and one-fifth. At the hospital for diseases of the skin one in eight is a patient of the same class. At the Sweat Hospital, out of the *six per cent.* specially affected, 31 were respectable married women; while at the Royal Ophthalmic Hospital one in five are sufferers from this disease.

It is said that recently an eye disease—a standing of the cornea—has been identified as the effects of the inherited virus. This especially affects children. The Glasgow Parochial Board placed out 251 orphans last year, of whom 38 presently sickened with hereditary disease; and at the London Hospital for sick children (an account of which appeared in "THE REVOLUTION" some time since), in 1866, 174 were under similar treatment on account of it. The Registrar-General's returns for 1866 show 465 deaths in London from this same cause. This latter total cannot be regarded as being correct, as in private practice the particular cause is seldom assigned to account for death. Mr. James Paget testifies that he has known five surgeons die, and fifty suffer more or less from contagion contracted in discharging professional duties.

The statistics of the London hospitals will serve as a criterion to the other centres of population; but even after the signs of the disease have disappeared, the virus left in the blood is prolific of other maladies. But enough of this ghastly array.

What is the remedy? I can only repeat what has been said in a previous letter from Mr. Mottershead, one of our ablest working radicals—the bringing about of complete equality of the sexes is the first great step. Then will there be a chance of mastering this fell plague. Under the present system man may try but he will never succeed without woman's help.

LOUIS J. HINTON.

LETTER FROM GEO. FRANCIS TRAIN.

THE LAST OF THE JACKNELL PRISONERS OFF FOR AMERICA.—THE TORY CONSTITUTION DOWN UPON THE RADICAL REVOLUTION.—THE CHICAGO PLATFORM OF 1868.

QUEENSTOWN, June 3, 1868.

DEAR "REVOLUTION": Only a line to-day, as the steamer leaves with O'Connor and Roche, the last of the Jacknell men. Congress votes $50,000, but an American citizen pays the bills to send his countrymen home. While Impeachers and Demagogues disgrace the nation, I am making *civis Americanus sum* a motto for every American.

The Tory Constitution is after the Radical "REVOLUTION" to-day with knitting needle. Will send the Leader by the Cunarder. "THE REVOLUTION" is a power in two hemispheres. Such is the force of morality, temperance and common honesty. Truth and right must conquer falsehood and wrong. You are twenty weeks old, yet what a "REVOLUTION" already! You have twenty weeks more before the Presidential election, and what a "REVOLUTION" ideas can create in that time. Such articles as E. C. S. on the Exit of the Republican light must create reflection and startle men of thought into action.

The Chicago Platform of 1868, like that of 1864, is an insult to the American people. Nothing on Tariff—nothing on Greenbacks—nothing on outrages to our citizens. *But enforce negro suffrage on the South, and don't do it on the North.* Nothing about Temperance. Not a word about Taxes. The whole programme is nothing but generalities that don't even glitter. How are the mighty fallen. The party has ostracised its best men—Trumbull, Fessenden, Chase, Henderson, Grimes, Ross, Van Winkle—how can they go back after being called thieves, demagogues and villains. Manhood resents it, and statesmanship will answer, No—we believe the people greater than party. Will the democrats show more sense in July? We shall look on and wait. For we, over here in Ireland, see all the game, and know by instinct who will win the White House. *Let us put up Chase.* GEO. FRANCIS TRAIN.

WOMAN CREATING A REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.—THE POPE EXERCISED.—THE LAWYERS CONFUSED BY PORTIA.—THE OVERSEERS OF SALFORD DECLARE FOR THE WOMEN.—AN IRISH ANNA DICKINSON OUT ON TEMPERANCE.—A WOMAN AT DR. BARTER'S RAISES A TURKISH FLAG.—THE SPECIAL OF THE NEW YORK WORLD PRESENT.

JUNE 4th.

DEAR "REVOLUTION": I wrote a dozen lines at Queenstown, yesterday, as I was seeing off the last of the Jacknell men, and find I can drop another letter into the post to-day. "THE REVOLUTION" is creating such changes day by day, I am bristling all over with points. Never before did a grand idea take such deep root so rapidly. It shows the soil was prepared; and the sunshine and the rain are the harbingers of glad tidings.

AN IRISH ANNA DICKINSON OUT ON TEMPERANCE.

Why don't Anna Dickinson come out for Father Matthew and his men. We must reform our young men now—the old men are dying off with delirium tremens. This is the last lady lecturer. Let "THE REVOLUTION" introduce her to the American world.

A LADY LECTURER.

Lectures were delivered on the evenings of Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, at the lower room, Town Hall, by Miss Jessie Craigen, in connection with the Water

ford Temperance Society. It was the first occasion, we believe, on which a lady addressed a public assembly in Waterford, and this circumstance, together with a growing interest in the temperance cause amongst certain classes, brought together a pretty large audience each evening, though there was a charge for admittance, and the vanities and frivolities of a theatre in full swing upstairs divided public patronage with the cause of temperance. The Right Worshipful the Mayor occupied the chair each evening.

We had the pleasure of hearing Miss Craigen on Wednesday evening. She is a fluent speaker, remarkably self-possessed, and has a knack of interesting her audience in whatever she talks about—a quality generally known as eloquence. She is evidently possessed by a kindly feeling of large-hearted sympathy for the toiling millions of the United Kingdom, and she spoke with enthusiasm when describing the effects of the first movement for the regeneration of the working classes in England in the eighteenth century; and occasionally she alluded, somewhat sarcastically, to the aristocracy, such allusions, we observed, being received with laughter and applause by the audience. Of course she took occasion to speak of the one great subject supposed to occupy the thoughts of unmarried ladies. Referring to Lord Saville's advice to his daughter, not to reject a man who proposed marriage because he is accustomed to getting drunk now and then—say four or five times a month—for, said that wise parent, a wife can more readily rule such a husband by taking advantage of his weakness, the lecturer repudiated, on the part of her sex, any desire of ruling their husbands. What ladies wanted, she said, was a husband they could respect—a sentiment loudly applauded by all the young ladies present. Towards the close of the lecture, Miss Craigen summed up the history of the temperance movement, and confidently predicted success. She pointed out how the abolition of the slavery movement took a century and a half, while the temperance movement has much greater obstacles to overcome, and yet it has already, though only forty years in existence, its representatives in every nook and corner of the United Kingdom and on the floor of the House of Commons. She described the three bodies now working side by side for the suppression of drunkenness—viz., the Total Abstinence Pledge Societies, the Band of Hope, a society taking charge of young people to train them up in habits of temperance and hatred of drunkenness, and the United Kingdom Alliance, for obtaining legislative prohibition of traffic in drink. She paid a warm tribute to the labors of the Irish Temperance Apostle, Father Mathew, the man whom Providence provided when the time and the circumstances required him; and she declared the advocates of temperance would never cease their labors until a man might travel in any part of the United Kingdom, and calling into a hotel or other house of refreshment and asking for any kind of intoxicating drink, would receive for answer from the proprietor, "What do you take us for? We don't keep anything of the kind on the premises." Miss Craigen is a lady of no ordinary ability, and her lecture was certainly an exceedingly able as well as a most interesting one; and we really believe the delivery of such lectures cannot fail to help forward the noble cause to which she has devoted her energies. At the conclusion of the lecture, a vote of thanks to Miss Craigen was moved by Dr. Palmer, seconded by a gentleman whose name we did not learn, and passed unanimously. —*Waterford Citizen.*

PORTIA ARRIVES IN TIME TO CONFUSE THE LAWYERS.

Seven thousand women demand Lillie Maxwell's right. Taxation without representation is robbery. Down with unjust laws and up with womanhood and the rights of all who pay taxes.

CAN WOMEN VOTE?

A question of extraordinary interest has been formally raised, and will come before the Court of Common Pleas for formal decision. A demand has been made upon the overseers of Manchester to place upon the list of voters women who possess the qualification of independent householders, being rated and paying their rates. It was stated that there were no less than 7,000 of such claimants in Manchester alone. Dr. Parkhurst was their spokesman. His argument was, that by the new act the franchise was given, not to "every male person," as by the Reform act, but to "any man." The word "man" in jurisprudence and judicial science had no reference to sex; it meant merely a human being, and comprehended man and woman. In the common statute law the word "man" was held to include "woman" also; and, lastly, Lord Romilly's act (13 and 14 Vict. c. 21, s. 4) positively enacts that "in all acts words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females, unless the contrary as to gender is expressly provided." In the Representation of the People act the franchise was given to "every man." There was no proviso to the contrary, and therefore the legal conclusion is that "every man" in that act must be construed woman also. The argument is strong, and we cannot find an answer to it. The chairman of the board promised that it should have consideration. The overseers probably will not take upon themselves to place qualified women on the list of voters; but the women can send in their claims; they will be heard and decided by the Revising Barrister, and an appeal taken from his decision to the Common Pleas. For our own part, we heartily wish them success. We have sought in vain for solid argument against the admission to the franchise of single women qualified as independent householders, or as owners of property. All the arguments of its opponents are directed against giving the franchise to wives and daughters, which nobody demands or desires.—*Law Times.*

THE SALFORD OVERSEERS AND FEMALE RATE-PAYERS.

The following communication has been addressed to the Mayor of Salford, by the Chairman of the Overseers of the Salford district:

OVERSEERS' OFFICE, 12 ENCOMB PLACE,
SALFORD, May 29, 1868.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of the 2d instant, relative to the placing of properly qualified females on the parliamentary borough register, the overseers, after carefully considering section 3, 30 and 31 Vict., cap. 102 of the New Reform act, viz.: "Every man shall, in and after the year 1868, be entitled to be registered as a voter, and, when registered, to vote for a member or members, to serve in parliament for a borough, who is qualified as follows, that is to say:

"1. Is of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity; and,

"2. Is on the last day of July in any year, and has during the whole of the preceding twelve calendar months been an inhabitant occupier, as owner or tenant of any dwelling-house within the borough; and

"3. Has, during the time of such occupation, been rated as an ordinary occupier in respect of the premises so occupied by him within the borough to all rates (if any) made for the relief of the poor in respect of such premises; and

"4. Has, on or before the twentieth day of July, in the same year, *bona fide* paid an equal amount in the pound to that payable by other ordinary occupiers in respect of all poor rates that have become payable by him in respect of the said premises up to the preceding fifth day of January, etc.," and section 4, 13 Vict., cap 21 of an act for shortening the language used in acts of parliament, viz.: "Be it enacted that in all acts, words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females, and the singular to include the plural, and the plural the singular, unless the contrary as to gender or number is expressly provided," have passed the following resolution:

"That, in the judgment of the overseers, they have no alternative but to place all duly qualified females on the next parliamentary register for the borough."—I am, yours truly, JAMES FARMER, Chairman.

H. D. Pochin, Esq., Broughton Old Hall, Broughton.

FEMALE FRANCHISES.

To the Editor of the Star:

SIR: There is an inaccuracy in one paragraph of your leading article of this morning upon the Salford case, which, as it affects myself, I hope you will allow me to correct. Neither in my "Notes on the Representation of the People act, 1867," nor in any other form, have I ever expressed the opinion that "the judicial authorities would be disinclined to revive a right so long in abeyance, or decline to ratify such decisions as that at which the overseers of Salford have arrived." My opinion has always been the other way—namely, that the argument of non-user is worthless, or, as I have expressed myself at pp. 97-103 of the work alluded to, "franchise is not lost or waived by non-user or laches, for the right implies a duty, and the duty is co-equal and co-extensive with the right;" and that in the case of female parliamentary franchises, "it will be the duty of Registration and Revision Courts to give effect" to the claim.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

T. CHISHOLM ANSTEY.

Temple, June 1.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

The claim to have women placed upon the list of parliamentary voters has not been dealt with in Manchester as in Salford. The overseers asked for the opinion of Mr. Mellish, Q.C., who replied: "I am of opinion that, under the Representation of the People act, 1867, women are not entitled to be registered as voters. It is plain that, if it had been the intention of parliament to give votes to women, the word 'man' would not have been used in the 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th sections; and no statute ought to be construed contrary to the manifest intention of the Legislature." Mr. Mellish adds that he sees no objection to the names of women being placed on the list of claimants.—*Manchester Examiner.*

Republican-Democratic America hurry up, or Monarchical-Aristocratic England will be first to give women their rights.

A WOMAN HOISTS A TURKISH FLAG IN ENGLAND.

Saint Ann is the patron saint of all the Hygeine springs, and yesterday a woman raised the first Turkish flag in England. Did not women invent silk and straw bonnets as well as the cotton gin? Men have too long absorbed the ideas of women.

INTERESTING CEREMONY AT ST. ANN'S.

The colony of St. Ann's had a new sensation to-day. The signal was given at dinner—the beef and the mutton, the rabbit pie and the roast chicken had been discussed—the sago, the tapioca, the stewed prunes, and the gooseberries had played their part—the doctor had said grace, or returned thanks rather, when a learned professor announced that all the guests of St. Ann's were expected to assemble on the green sward at four o'clock to assist in the spectacle of raising a Turkish flag in honor of Dr. Barter, presented by Madame De O'Lier, one of his grateful patients. The hour came, the bell rang, the gong sounded, and out of the bath—out of the chapel—out of the billiard-room—out of the "Holy Land," and "Palestine" and "Purgatory," and "The Garden"—there came a stream of disciples—converts to the true laws of Higienne—young and old—old men and little girls—aged ladies and schoolboys—the lame and the halt, the strong and the feeble poured out of the extensive building upon the green sward, to witness the compliment to the head centre of the Turkish Bath. The day was lovely—all nature was wearing the green, and yet the prevailing color of the group was wearing of the orange. A fair young girl, dressed in Turkish costume—elegant Turkish robe, Turkish hat, Turkish scarf, presented the beautiful Turkish slippers to Dr. Barter. A distinguished professor making a neat speech—joining the hands of the East and West. The orient with the occident, all in honor of the great professor who had saved so many lives.

Dr. Barter rose to reply—all listened to the distinguished physician who had organized this great establishment, with its five hundred acres of forest trees and pasture, rookeries and trout streams—with its great garden of fruit and fields of vegetable and grain—with its singular pile of oriental buildings, so resembling the palace of a Japanese nobleman, or the bungalow of an Indian Prince. All hats were off, and grateful patients—many who had been saved from cartloads of drugs, and oceans of alcoholic medicines—clapped and cheered for the man who had battled against the entire medical faculty for a quarter of a century to rescue humanity from man. Dr. Barter is a ready talker and an enthusiast in his profession. His speech sparkled with self-evident truths. His baths were for the poor as well as the rich. The reformation had just begun. That building going up beside the chapel is for Dr. Donovan's bazaar for the poor. Pointing to a large space to be covered by the 23d inst., when the great fair comes off, and everybody for miles around contributes something for "Those we have always with us." Encouraged by these tokens of regard from his patients he should go on with the good work—actions speak more than words—facts eventually root out fallacies, and every man and woman saved goes out a convert to save others from the drug destroyer. The special correspondent of the New York *World*—the Head Centre of all revolutionary outbreaks, and impromptu inspector of British jails, was present, but his modesty—so peculiar to his countrymen—his diffidence, so characteristic of Americans—prevented him from adding his testimony to the wonderful curative powers of the Turkish bath under the high temperative improvements made thereon by its introducer in these Islands, Dr. Richard Barter, the founder of the flourishing colony of St. Ann's on the Hill. G. F. T.

St. Ann's, June 9.

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, PARKER PILLSBURY, } Editors.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, JUNE 25, 1868.

CHIEF-JUSTICE CHASE.

All the vials of *radical* wrath are poured on the head of Judge Chase. Last year he was the admiration of those who to-day would, if they could, blast him with the breath of their nostrils. He swung around the southern circle, and made himself the idol of the colored population by his friendly recognition of them, and earnest, excellent words of congratulation, counsel and encouragement. He assured them that what the government had begun for them in emancipation it would complete in bestowing on them all the rights and privileges of American citizenship. He exhorted them to honesty, industry, economy, temperance, and all the virtues of manhood, citizenship and religion. Some of his addresses were really sermons to his simple but listening congregations. Who thought then of General Grant for President by the side of Chief-Justice Chase? Surely not those who are to-day pouring on him all their maledictions, and screaming themselves hoarse in praise of General Grant! And yet what has he done thus to forfeit their favor? To what republican principle has he proved false? Or, what is more to the purpose, what sentiment, doctrine or demand of his last year address to the freedman has he abandoned or modified? With those addresses he raised himself to the point of absolute worship in the minds and hearts of his colored audiences; nor were his white admirers far behind them in their manifestations. Nor can it be shown that he has abated one jot or tittle of his determination to use all his influence, in whatever station, to establish equal and impartial liberty in every part and portion of the country. His recent published letter, in its bold and manly utterances, is a splendid contrast to the shuffling, sneaking, not to say lying pretences of the Chicago platform, or the feeble paltering of Gen. Grant in accepting the call to stand upon it. This may be one reason why the vituperation against him grows louder and louder. In his letter he says, "I shall never abandon the great principles for the success of which I have given my entire life. I ADHERE TO MY OLD CREED OF EQUAL RIGHTS, WITHOUT ONE JOT OR TITTLE OF ABATEMENT. . . . . I follow my old lights, not new ones. I neither expect nor desire to be a candidate for office again. It would, however, gratify me exceedingly *if the democratic party would take grounds which would assure the party against all attempts to subvert the principle of universal suffrage*, established in right, and to be established in all the southern constitutions. Then I think the future of the great cause for which I have labored so long would be secured."

So spoke Judge Chase last year, and so he speaks yet. But the biggest utterance of Gen. Grant is in his letter of acceptance, thus:

> If elected to the office of President of the United States, it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy and with the view of giving peace, quiet and protection everywhere. In times like the present it is impossible, or, at least, eminently improper, to lay down a policy to be adhered to, right or wrong, through an administration of four years. New political issues not foreseen are constantly arising, the views of the public on old ones are constantly changing, and a purely administrative officer should always be left free to execute the will of the people. I have always respected that will and always shall."

Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, or any rebel, pardoned, unpardoned, or unpardonable, could sign such sentiments as these without tremor or change of color. To say he "endorsed the resolutions of the convention," was all else the letter contained. The resolutions are not a shuffling evasion of the question of suffrage, but a direct surrender of it to the rebels as fast as they get restored, without even a recognition of the provisions of the boasted fourteenth article of constitutional amendments.

And this is the real ground of difference between Judge Chase and his republican defamers. He is for *universal suffrage as a great principle to be established in all the southern constitutions;* they leave it to the people of the states to regulate as they deem best. And republican states from Connecticut to Kansas are setting the rebel states the example of disfranchising the colored people as soon as they possess the power!

The spleen and spite of the radical republicans towards Judge Chase can be accounted for only on the hypothesis of envy and jealousy. He stands sublimely above them, and the intelligent among them must know it. Whether he brings the democratic party up to his own positions may be as doubtful as the republicans pretend to regard it. But that only reflects the more honor on his grand endeavor. He has advanced from the Chicago platform as did Generals Cass and Dix, Daniel S. Dickinson, and many other true men from the democratic party at the opening of the rebellion and war. And the same cannonade of curses with which their old party pursued them is now repeated by the republicans on the former pride of their party, Chief-Justice Chase. P. P.

STATE RIGHTS.

The Hon. John A. Gilmer has written a philosophical letter, from a politician's standpoint, to the editor of the *World*, pointing out to the Democratic Convention, to meet in New York on the 4th of July, what its policy should be, and the fitting man to represent it in the coming Presidential campaign. We agree with him that this is one of the most important conventions that has ever met since the foundation of the government.

The sacred associations of the day, the fact that this is the first time we have chosen a President since the war, the general feeling of disappointment at the results of the convention at Chicago, and the determination of the people to take some onward step, all give a peculiar feeling of interest and hope in the coming convention, which its action may by no means justify. What policy shall govern this nation in the next four years is indeed a momentous question, for on it depends our existence as a republic. One thing is sure, that whatever party proposes to wield the sceptre of power, it must base itself on a broader platform than "State Rights" or a "white man's government." If, in the coming convention, the democratic party takes no higher ground than the republican and offers one of its old conservative party hacks for the suffrages of the people, it is probable that the radicals will call a convention to meet in Chicago in September, and nominate some sound man on a platform of universal suffrage, the rights of labor, greenbacks, and free trade. The time has fully come for some new party, that shall decide what a genuine republican government is, and secure the protection of such a government to every citizen under its flag. Whether Chief-Justice Chase could represent such a party is the question. We fully agree with Mr. Gilmer in his high estimate of Mr. Chase. As a man, a jurist and a statesman, he certainly compares favorably with any man of our day. His doctrine of "State Rights," however, as set forth in a late letter, is so opposed to the first principles of just government and sound policy, that we do not see how Mr. Chase can reconcile this position with his other political opinions. The democrats can well afford to compromise with the chief-Justice by accepting "negro suffrage" for "state rights;" for an admission that any state has a right to deprive a peaceful, law-abiding citizen of a natural right, a political or civil right, which the Federal Constitution secures to all, is a virtual surrender of all the freedman has gained by the war, and our time-honored American idea of individual rights: "It is the duty of Congress to secure a republican form of government to every state in the Union." It is not safe to leave black men to the tender mercies of their rulers in South Carolina, nor women to the constitutional conventions of New York, nor to the votes of white men in Kansas. We demand that the general government establish a uniform and impartial representation, as well as a uniform currency from Maine to Louisiana.

As the family is but the nation in miniature, let us illustrate the doctrine of state rights, by our domestic government. As the object of the family is the rearing and protecting of children, it is the duty of the parents to see that the children do not abuse, degrade, or despoil each other. If the strong overpower the weak the parents interfere to protect the injured. The mother has superior rights as a mother, but if she is cruel and vindictive, and maltreats her children, it is the father's duty to set aside her authority and redress the grievance of the child. If the father is brutal and tyrannical it is the duty of wife and children to rebel, and maintain their individual freedom and dignity at all hazards. If they are too weak to protect themselves, the town officers should interfere and protect the family from the outrages and cruelties of a brutal father. Just so in the nation, if a state is governed by a tyrannical set of officials, where men are brutally treated, falsely imprisoned, mobbed, lynched, burnt alive, hunted with blood-hounds, it is not only the right but the duty, of the general government to interfere, because there is no right in the state so sacred as the rights of the individual to life, liberty and happiness, and there all just power begins and ends. The people of a state have a right at any moment to rebel against an unjust state government, and call on the general government for protection. And so have oppressed men everywhere a right to all the foreign protection they can secure. No constitution, no laws, no international treaties are of any account weighed in the balance with the rights of the humblest individual in the nation. Hence, it is the duty of our government to-day, to protect our Irish citizens in foreign prisons, and our African citizens ostracised and persecuted in all our States North and South. If Virginia had the right to call on the general government to protect Gov. Wise against John Brown, she has the

right to call on the general government to protect black men against the tyranny of Gov. Wise. It will be time enough to talk of "State rights," when all the people of a state have a voice in its government. The women of this state appeal to-day from "white male" tyranny, to the Congress of the United States, and pray that honorable body to establish a republican form of government in the State of New York. On the simple principle of individual rights, we set up the judgment of a disfranchised American woman, against that of the Chief-Justice of the United States, the Hon. John A. Gilmer, and the Chicago platform, and we can maintain ourselves against them all in the position, that it is the duty of the general government to protect the rights of every citizen under the shadow of its flag, male and female, black and white, and we need this protection in New York as well as in South Carolina. Moreover, this right of the general government does not depend on the loyalty or disloyalty of the state, but it is as absolute for individual protection in all the Northern States to-day as it is in those of the South.

E. C. S.

LOBBYING.

Egypt had her ten plagues, as Hebrew record runs, some loathsome, others destructive, and one, at least, fatal. Unwholesome vapors breed pestilence; putrescence noisesome reptiles and unclean vermin, but legislatures breed *lobbies*—a sort of monsters more to be dreaded than any of them. No natural historian has yet attempted to describe them. They are of the vampire or blood-sucker order, but more rapacious than all the dragons of mythology; and, more alarming still, they not only multiply in number but increase in size and power with every new generation, and they breed every year. The people choose their legislature, but the lobby makes and executes the laws. The legislature costs the people millions, the lobby legions. Indeed, no arithmetic has ever fathomed the cost of the lobby. Probably none ever will. The city and state of New York, next to Washington, are generally believed to have been most infected with this fearful plague. But wheresoever a legislative carcass is, thither will these eagles (or griffins) be gathered together. As the northern regions are exempt from the more dangerous and larger serpents and other monsters of the tropics, so New England, especially Massachusetts, has been supposed to be tolerably clear of the *lobby* brood. But no puritanic vaccination avails longer. The last Boston *Commonwealth* records the ravages of the fell destroyer to an extent that might wake the apprehensions even of the Federal Capitol. A proposition to levy on the people of Massachusetts five millions of dollars at once to bore a hole through Hoosac Mountain for a railway has brought out a powerful protest (from a radical republican, intimate friend of Senator Sumner) entitled, "*The Intolerable Burden*," from which the following is extracted:

> Here is an expenditure of seven to ten millions admitted; how much more, nobody knows. It has passed the legislature, and the republican party, with three-fourths of each branch, is alone responsible for it. . . . .
>
> Already our opponents see their advantage. Whatever else the democratic party may fail in, it has pluck. Their candidate for governor last year was applied to for a pledge in favor of the tunnel, and flung his defiance at them. He has put himself flat-footed against the swindle this year. The sagacious organ of the party, the Boston *Post*, accepts the issue in the following:
>
> "The tax-payers of Massachusetts will read with alarm and apprehension that the House has engrossed the Hoosac Tunnel appropriation bill by a vote of 107 to 94. Every qualifying amendment was resolutely voted down, even one submitting the act to the vote of the people, and the governor was authorized to draw his warrant for a sum of money so prodigious that every man, woman and child in the state will feel the burden imposed. The speeches of conservative members against this flagrant violation of trust and power were unheeded. The warning that the republican party, by passing the bill, would dig its own political grave, excited no attention whatever, members being apparently willing to perform *hari kari*, or incur any risk and odium, rather than suffer the project either to be delayed or rendered less hazardous to the public interests. It is not surprising that radical papers sound the note of alarm and warn their friends that the tax upon the patience, as well as the pockets, of voters, is altogether too grievous to be borne, and that a cry of economy in the next election will be the knell which will bury the spendthrifts who dip into the public purse with a recklessness that cannot longer be tolerated."

After this from the Boston *Post*, the pamphlet proceeds:

> Let no man say that those who expose this swindle are injuring the republican party. *They* are responsible who put the burden upon us, not those who expose the fraud. . . . . I make this hasty appeal with little hope that it will be successful. I know too well the power of the mercenary Lobby; I know too well how effectively this swindle is *log-rolled* in with every scheme of plunder, and with every measure of doubtful expediency. . . . . It is time we knew whether the little squad of Hessians who have so long dominated republican conventions shall be allowed longer to wield their mischievous power. This week, the leader of the "tunnel ring" boasted openly to me, "We have controlled the republican state conventions for ten years, and we will do it again this fall."

The *Commonwealth* has to add, with evident sorrow and shame:

> But all appeals to stop this extravagance were vain! The bill has been approved by the governor, and is now a law.

It seems the Massachusetts Lobby consists of only five members, but their power during the long legislative session recently closed, was almost omnipotent. They had sumptuous and elegant headquarters in Avon Place, and sold their services to whatever individual or corporate interest would buy them. The *Commonwealth* adds, that most of the five hold places under Collector Russell in the Boston Custom House, and suggests whether their salaries should not be suspended when they transfer the base of their labors to the White House. The suggestion is well; but, as itself says above, "all appeals to stop this extravagance are vain," its own with the rest. The republican party has come to be a party of plunder. With reasonable exceptions, the difference between its leaders and the Forty Thieves of the fable is only one of numbers. In a recent "Revolution" we arraigned New Hampshire republicans, and judged them out of their own mouth, and what a record was disclosed! Massachusetts is no better, no worse, as herewith appears. One is almost driven to exclaim over such a party, as Frederick Douglass did of the slave system, "Welcome the bolt that dashes it in pieces—come that bolt from heaven or come it from hell!" For if they do these things in the green tree of New England puritanism, what shall they not do in New York and Washington profligacy?

P. P.

Madame Olympia Audouard, Countess de la Morliere, has recently arrived in this country, where she proposes to lecture on "Woman's Rights" in her native language. She is a highly educated woman, of pleasing manners and address, and great personal beauty. She has travelled extensively in the Old Word, and published a volume of travels in Egypt, beside several other works on the French laws for women. We shall publish next week a letter from her pen to the Chamber of Deputies, translated by the daughter of Gerrit Smith.

THE IMPEACHMENT FAILURE.

The republicans of all others have most reason to rejoice at the result of the Impeachment trial. They still have the president as their scape goat. Had he been removed they would have had no answer to the people for failure in restoring the union and government. For they would still have failed as essentially as now, and as heretofore they have failed. But had Johnson been deposed they would have had no reason to render, as really, they never have had. With a majority in both houses of Congress that enabled it to veto the very veto power itself, the republicans have not had power to save themselves, much less the government. Even in Massachusetts the radical flag is lowering itself into homage to the Chicago platform and conservatism. The Boston *Commonwealth* says "the statement is going the round of the newspapers that many distinguished citizens of Boston and vicinity, of the republican party, too, are about tendering the compliment of a puplic dinner to Senator Fessenden. Governor Bullock, ex-Governor Washburn, President Hill of Harvard College, James Russell Lowell, Charles E. Norton, Mr. Dana, Peleg W. Chandler and A. G. Brown, Jr., are among his intended hosts." The *Commonwealth* adds, apparently with surprise, "we are in possession of the names of other signers which we withhold for the present in the hope that they may yet be withdrawn." Vain hope, O, *Commonwealth!* although, as you well say, "if a public testimonial in Boston to Mr. Fessenden does not mean approval of his vote on impeachment, it means nothing." If the Chicago platform and nomination of Gen. Grant do not mean that, "they mean nothing." And it is fit that Massachusetts should make this first demonstration to the country. When Andrew Johnson and almost the whole nation were proposing reconstruction on the basis of colored suffrage, people, press, pulpit, church, loudly demanding it, then it was that Massachusetts republicans, in a State Convention, more than thirteen hundred strong, presided over by Mr. Senator Sumner, declared in a resolution that "*Massachusetts has no theory of suffrage to propose;*" and the effect on the country was more disastrous than the revoking of Gen. Fremont's Proclamation of Freedom, and his removal from command, in the beginning of the war. For these, Johnson surely was not responsible, any more than he is for the Boston dinner to Senator Fessenden. Who, then, is to be blamed?

P. P.

WOMEN VOTING IN ENGLAND.

We call the attention to the London *Law Times* article, and the report of the Salford overseers given us this week in Mr. Train's letter. Why do not the women of wealth in this country go and do likewise? In all our towns and villages, they could at once vote on all questions relating to taxes and their appropriations. The twelve women of Passaic, N. J., who voted for, and thereby carried the question, of building a sidewalk, set the tax-paying women of the country an example worthy of imitation. Let every woman property holder refuse to pay her tax to build town-house, or school-house, bridge

or sidewalk, until she is allowed to vote as to whether the improvements shall be made, and town officers will very soon find no by-laws to prohibit women's voting.

OUR YOUNG GIRLS.

They are the music, the flowers, the sunshine of our social life. How beautiful they make our homes, our churches, schools and festive scenes; how glad and gay they make our streets. Who can see a bevee of girls tripping home from school, without pausing to watch their graceful motions, pretty faces, feet and legs, to listen to their merry words, and peals of laughter? See how they romp and play with hoops and balls, with sleds and skates, and wash their brother's faces in the snow, and beat them in a race on yonder pond. These boys and girls are one to-day in school, at play, at home, never dreaming that one sex was made to clutch the stars, the other but to kiss the dust. But watch awhile and you will see these dashing, noisy, happy, healthy girls grow calm, and pale, and sad, and e'en though lodged in palace homes, mid luxury and ease, with all the gorgeous trappings wealth can give—rich silks, bright jewels, gilded equipage—they are still listless and unsatisfied. Life to them has ceased to have the joy and fullness it still yields to the brothers by their side. And why? They have awakened to the fact that they belong to an ostracised, a degraded class; that to fulfil their *man-appointed sphere* they are to have no individual character, freedom, life, purpose, fame or immortality. They are simply to revolve round one man, to live only for him, in him, with him—to be fed, clothed, guided and controlled to-day by father or brother, to-morrow by husband or son, never to know the freedom and dignity that one secures in self-dependence and self-support. Young girls feel all this long before they utter it, and far more keenly than kind fathers ever know.

Walking in Madison Park recently, a little boy, reading the signs hung on the trees, "No dogs admitted here," remarked, "It is a good thing, mother, that the dogs cannot read, it would hurt their feelings so to know that they were forbidden to walk in the parks." Yes, we said, the dogs, like the women, are shut out of the green pastures of life, and both alike ignorant of the statutes by which it is done. Bruno sleeps on his master's rug in some dark street, pining for the sunshine and the grass, and a frolic through field and forest, without knowing his degradation, published to all men in that one invidious statute, "No dogs admitted here;" but if he should try to enter the park, he would soon get a smart rap on the nose, that would teach him that he was a dog, and not a man. So the young girls pine and perish for the lack of freedom, for the stimulus of work and wages, something to satisfy their ambition, their love of fame, and distinction. They are clothed in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day in their gilded cages, but if by chance, with some new inspiration, they awake to life, and go forth to claim the place in the great world that is by birthright theirs, they find at the very gates of life, at the entrance of every winding path, leading up to the Temple of Knowledge and of Fame, these self-same little signs hung out, "No girls admitted here."

While the dogs and the women suffer alike the penalty of the law, the degradation of the latter is greatly aggravated by the fact that they can read the signs. And what adds to the girls humiliation, is the fact that the boy finds out that to him alone the world is free, to be, to do, to dare all that he can. The universe of matter and of mind is his domain; no constitutions, laws or customs block his way, but the whole world combine to urge him on, and all his triumphs in science, literature and art are hailed with loud huzzas; he accepts the homage of the multitude as his sole right, and looks with jealous eye on any girl that dare to tread upon his heels. In these artificial distinctions boys learn their first lessons of contempt for all womankind. They naturally infer that they are themselves endowed with some superior powers, to match their superior privileges. But what avails it that here and there some proud girl repudiates these invidious distinctions, laughs at these supercilious airs that boys affect, and braces up her mind to resist this tyranny of sex. She feels she is the peer of any boy she knows. She has measured many a lance on the play ground, and in the school, and now, forsooth, shall custom make her bow to sex; to those inferior to herself? She scorns the thought, but what can one brave girl do against the world? Custom has made this type of boy, and now these boys perpetuate the custom. They make the creeds, the codes, the constitutions, while woman is nought but a lay figure in the world, an appendage to lordly man, a something on which to hang his titles, name and fame. With blighted girlhood, wasted youth and vacant age, the ambition of most women we meet to-day is simply to be distinguished as the daughter, wife or mother of Gen., Hon., or Judge so-and-so, to shine in their reflected light, to wear their deeds and words of valor and of eloquence; as their own bracelet, necklace or coronal. Now, this ought not so to be. Every girl should be something in and of herself, have an individual purpose and aim in life. As the boy approaches manhood, he gathers up his forces and concentrates them on some definite work, trade or profession; has a wish, a will, a way of his own; hence he begins life with enthusiasm, early learns the pleasure of self-dependence, and grows stronger, nobler, braver every day that he lives. But turn to the girl; she leaves school with her ambition at white heat, she has outstripped the foremost in the sciences and languages; she has her tools all ready to carve her way to distinction; and she, too, desires the dignity and independence of self-support. But nothing that she proposes to do is acceptable to family and friends; in fact any career for women is tabooed by the world. And if, in the face of friends, custom, law, a woman does lift herself, head and shoulders, above her class, she meets a dozen obstacles, where a man does one. The battle of life, without any artificial barriers, is hard enough, for multitudes of young men perish in the struggle; but the girl who earns her bread, or makes for herself a name, has all the boy has to surmount, and these artificial barriers of law and custom in addition. Oh, fathers, strike off these chains; the distinctions that God has made, he will maintain; he needs none of your puny legislation to vindicate his wisdom, or carry out his will. Multitudes of our noblest girls are perishing for something to do. The hope of marriage, all we offer girls, is not enough to feed an immortal mind; and if that goal is never reached, what then? The more fire and genius a girl has, with no outlets for her powers, the more complete is her misery when all these forces are turned back upon herself. The pent up fires, that might have glowed with living words of eloquence in courts of justice, in the pulpit, or on the stage, are to-day consuming their victims in idiot and insane asylums, in domestic discontent and disgust, in peevish wailings about trifles, in the vain pursuit of pleasure and fashion, longing for that peace that is found only in action. Thus multitudes of girls live and die unloving and unloved, who might have stood high in the shining walks of life, a blessing to others and themselves. We said to one of the most distinguished men of our day, not long since, your daughter has a wonderful genius for drawing, you should cultivate it; she might distinguish herself, and find great happiness in the development of that talent. "Ah!" said he, "she is interested in ragged schools just now that fills up her time." Yes, we replied, but she could not live on acts of benevolence, if you should die, and she were thrown on her own resources for bread. What then? "Charity is a good thing," says Sidney Smith, "but it is hard to be pitiful twenty hours in the day." All women were not made for sisters of mercy, and it is not wise for any to watch the sorrows and shadows of life forever. We know a beautiful girl, just eighteen, full of genius, force and fire, who has had one strong, steadfast desire for years to be educated for the stage. Her performances in private theatricals are marvellous. She has but little thought of dress, fashion, frivolous pleasures, or matrimony. She lives in the ideal. She can give imitations to the life, of Fanny Kemble, Charlotte Cushman, Ristori. She reads the most difficult passages of Shakspeare with rare power, and appreciates the nicest shades of his thought. She has a passion for tragedy; all her desires, her longings, her hopes and aspirations centre there; she thinks of the stage by day, dreams of it by night, and in vain her friends try to turn the current of her thoughts, to change her heart's desire, the purpose of her life. They have the power to say her nay, to control her action, thwart her will, pervert her nature, darken all her life, but how can they fill the mighty void that one strong passion unsatisfied makes in the human soul. The weary hours of such a blasted life cannot be cheated with the dull round of ordinary duties, with the puerile pleasures legitimate to woman's sphere. "The stage, they say, is not respectable." As if a royal soul does not dignify whatever she does. Have not a Siddons, Kemble, Cushman, Rachel, Ristori, made that profession noble for all time? And what do the guardians of this girl propose for the sacrifice they ask. Can they substitute another strong purpose, will, or wish, as they desire? Are human souls like garden beds, where passions can be transplanted as easily as flowers? Can these guardians pledge themselves, while they hold this child of genius to-day, in idleness and dependence, that they will surround her with comforts and luxuries her life all through? No, this cannot be done. Fathers, brothers, husbands die, banks fail, houses are consumed with fire, guardians may prove treacherous, creditors grasping, and debtors dishonest; the skill and cunning of our own brains and hands are the only friends that are ever with us, the only sure means of protection and support. Give your daughters, then, the surest of all fortunes, the full development of their own immortal powers. E. C. S.

Hydropathic Treatment.—Dr. Kuczkowski, late of 44 Bond street, invites his friends to try the benefit of the Green Mountain air and

water at the Wesselhoeft House, Brattleboro, Vermont, where he will remain during the summer months.

PETTICOATS AND PANTALOONS, PRINCIPLES AND PREJUDICES.

THE question of the political rights of women is being discussed more and more, both in Europe and America. Whether these pretensions are well founded or not, they find numerous defenders. Nature has decreed that Madame E. C. Stanton, of "THE REVOLUTION" of New York should wear petticoats, and, as says *Punch*, that she should stay at home and make the pot boil. But Madame Stanton believes that pantaloons and petticoats should hang on the same hook, without one having the right to surpass the other. That is good logic and we congratulate the lady "blue stocking." For ourselves, the question whether women shall have the suffrage, is not a question of *right;* in fact the governed should have something to say about the legislation which governs them. If the governed consent, the government rests upon the Christian principle of liberty and love; only a monarchy or despotism would impose laws upon the governed without their consent. Therefore, we cannot question the right of women to vote; but we must look at it from another point of view, and ask if it be proper, necessary and logical that she should vote. We reply in the negative. To mix the attributes of the two sexes would be contrary to the law of nature. It is in fact nature that created for them separate and distinct spheres, a separation which manners and laws have sanctioned and perpetuated for centuries, before the wars of Greece and Rome, before Christianity, before "the grass was wet with the dew of the first morning." * * * If woman desires to be admired and respected, as the women at the head of "THE REVOLUTION" certainly do, she should not be seen in the outside world but at intervals. A thing to be admired should not be too often seen. The fact, Keats says in Endymion, "A thing of beauty is a joy forever." We regret that he has not added, its beauty becomes greater if only seen at rare intervals. We should be misunderstood if any one were to suppose that we pretend to refuse women the right to vote. We argue simply whether it would be expedient and logical to accord it to her. * * * Madame Stanton should be content with petticoats. Nature has destined her to wear them, and her efforts to slip into a pair of breeches are pitiable to witness.—*N. O. Les Libre.*

Seeing, Messieur, that you are somewhat befogged on the comparative merits of petticoats and pantaloons, as well as the behests of Custom and Nature, we would suggest to you, that there is no real antagonism between suffrage and petticoats, nor necessary connection between the art of governing and pantaloons. If Nature could be vouchsafed a right to speak on fashions, she would undoubtedly say to the workers in the world (as to the lay figures it matters not in what they encase themselves): throw aside those garments that impede locomotion, and study your comfort and convenience in all things. Custom has decreed that certain garments shall represent dignity, wisdom and power, hence the mother of the race, popes, cardinals, bishops, chief-justices, judges, barristers, all wear the long, flowing robes, while the serfs of Russia, the peasantry of France and England, the African race in America, millions of men everywhere wholly unrepresented in the government, wear pantaloons, showing that the style of dress has nothing to do with this question, for pantaloons, as well as petticoats, are under the ban of disfranchisement. As to *Mr. Punch's* opinion of our domestic duties, we would suggest that for the poorer classes of women, work and good wages are needed to keep the "pot poiling," and to secure this, they are often compelled to labor in the outer world. For the more fortunate classes we ask, why should an educated woman be a mere satellite of the dinner pot, any more than an educated man of the cows in the barnyard? We might say with equal propriety to *Les Libre* and *Punch*, lay down your pens, and with axe and hoe hie you to your appropriate sphere, to the fields and forests, to cut down trees and cultivate the corn.

But you admit woman's right to suffrage, you cannot logically avoid it; so far so good. Your principles are sound. Your trouble lies in your prejudices. When you say, do not mix the spheres and attributes of the sexes, you assume to know too much. While we grant man, in spite of all his blunders in the past, the right to find out his own sphere, to use his own powers just as he chooses, we do not accord him the capacity to judge of our wants or duties. We propose to bound our own sphere, to try our wings and fly where we can, and if we reach the mountain top we shall argue that Nature designed us to stand there.

It is time that the old idea be exploded, that a woman is the only one of God's creatures that cannot be trusted to find her native element.

If we reason from all man's failures for the last six thousand years, it is fair to say, that the art of governing is not one of the manly accomplishments; hence we propose to govern ourselves.

The sphere of woman has been gradually widening and coming nearer and nearer into the same orbit with that of man, and so far from his respect decreasing, it steadily increases just in proportion as they become equal companions in art, science, literature and their interest in the government. Contrast the relations of men and women in this country with those in Turkey or China.

In meeting at the ballot-box once a year, just long enough to vote, we do not apprehend that we should "be too often seen," especially those who are beautiful, to cease to be "a joy forever" to those who know and love us.

FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION

AT FLORENCE HEIGHTS.

NEW YORK, 95 Sixth avenue, June 17, 1868.

MISS ANTHONY: We propose to hold an Equal Suffrage Convention at Florence Heights, July 4. We want speakers, the more the better; and some one ought to be there on behalf of "THE REVOLUTION." We will pay all expenses of advertising extensively, and will give as many speakers as will attend the hospitalities of the "Home" as long as they may be pleased to "rusticate" with us. I suppose you will be engaged with the Democratic Convention. Can you send me any names whom I may announce? Yours very truly,

R. T. TRALL, M.D.

N. B.—A boat leaves Pier No. 1 at 5:30 a.m. and 2 p.m. Fare, $1.70. Trains leave foot of Cortland street 7 a.m., and 1 and 4 p.m. Fare, $2.50.

WHAT WOMEN ARE DOING AND HAVE DONE.

THE CAREER OF A FEMALE DETECTIVE.—Mrs. Kate Warn, born in the town of Erin, Chemung Co., N. Y., of poor parents, she had few opportunities of education. But nature had educated her by giving her a large brain, a good judgment, quick perception and a resolute will. Mr. Pinkerton commenced business as a private detective about fifteen years ago. Some two years after he was called upon by Mrs. Warn, a stranger who applied for a postion as female detective. Up to that time he had not thought of employing females, but the novelty and utility of the thing quickly banished what he supposed might be the prejudices of society, and, after several interviews, she was taken into service. She soon proved her competency, and when it became necessary to add other females to that branch of the service, Mrs. Warn was chosen as their head. Her force was thoroughly organized, and the most rigid rules of discipline, moral and otherwise, were laid down. Her control over all her subordinates was commensurate with her strong will, her unceasing vigilance, and her strict morality. A severe code she deemed necessary, both for the preservation and utilization of the force, and to overcome the scruples that mankind entertained of the propriety of that kind of service. Her own life is a vindication of the wisdom of her creed, for her duty even led her into associations unpleasant to dwell on, and brought her constantly into contact with the worst phases of society.

Among some of the earlier investigations submitted to her charge was that of the robbery of the Adams Express Company, at Montgomery, Alabama. The loss was about $10,000. After a long and intricate search, she followed the package step by step, until she finally recovered it, except $485, at Jenkintown, in this State, about one year after it had been stolen. At the time of the passage of Mr. Lincoln and suite from Harrisburg to Washington to be inaugurated, the air was crowded with rumors of assassination, and well organized plots had been laid in Baltimore, the details of which no one sufficiently knew to propose a plan of circumvention. Suddenly an "unknown lady" appeared and arranged the time of departure, the procuration of sleeping-car berth, and such other precautionary steps as to her intimate knowledge of the plot and ready judgment suggested. This "unknown lady" was Mrs. Warn.

At the breaking out of the rebellion, Mr. Pinkerton having been assigned to duty as the head of the secret service of the army of the United States, Mrs. Warn took charge of the female department in Washington and continued at the head of it until 1863, when Mr. Pinkerton retired from service for a short time. Whilst in Washington her experience was varied and startling, she having to combat with the whole army of female spies and secret agents of the rebels. Always cool, calm and collected, she managed her part admirably, and her services were of infinite value to the government. Under Mr. Pinkerton, she in 1865 assumed charge of the female department of the secret service at New Orleans, where her natural ability and former experience served to add to her career of usefulness. She undoubtly ranked as the best female detcetive in the United States, if not in the world.

Though not a member of any church, her life was ornamented with all the Christian graces. Charity was a marked feature, and whether in aiding the hunted contraband, or catering to the sick or wounded in the prison-house, she always left the sufferer indebted to her for a kind word or act. Quick to perceive and prompt to do, she proved that females are useful in the sphere to which the wants of society have long been loth to assign them. As she lived so she died, a strong, pure and devoted woman. Her remains lie entombed in the private lot of Mr. Pinkerton in Graceland Cemetery.

Three years ago, in a public speech, we proposed a company of "Women Police," uniformed and paid by the State, to watch and guard young girls and boys coming to this city. Although the press ridiculed the suggestion, it will yet be done. The above sketch shows how effective a true and noble woman is ever found in defending public safety and virtue. If one half our police force were women, many of the evils of our present system would be remedied at once.

WHEREVER the fashion of making physicians and surgeons originated, it is certainly spreading with commendable rapidity in every direction. A notable instance remarked of late in European papers, is of a young Russian woman, Sonstoff by name, who applied at Zurich for a doctor's diploma for surgery and midwifery, having just passed an examination in St. Petersburg. It was necessary for her, according to the law, that she should pass a second examination before the Medical Board at the Minister l'Interieur, which she accordingly did, *viva voce*, in physiology, therapeutics, midwifery and surgery, besides writing a thesis on lymphatic glands. Her second examination safely and satisfactorily passed, she now awaits only the Emperor's confirmation of her appoinment She certainly deserves it.

BEARDED WOMEN.—The caprices of fashion with regard to women's hair furnish a good deal of materiel for satire at the present day: but the most extravagant of them now are tame compared with the capillary freaks of wo-

men in the olden times. Among the Roman women at one period there was a morbid ambition to grow beards, and they used so shave their faces and smear them with unguents to produce those appropriate appendages. Cicero tells us that there was a law passed against this practice, which is a proof that it must have been carried to a great extent. Among the Greeks too, a similar fancy appears at one time to have existed; for they represented their Cyprain Venus with a beard, and Suidas asserts that false beards were more than once in vogue with the Athenian women. The Lombard lasses also, had the same notion, but with more purpose in it; for we learn from old writers that the Amazons of that nation, when levying war upon their neighbors, used to improvise beards by arranging their hair upon their cheeks, so that they might look, at a little distance, like warriors of the rougher sex, and so strike the more terror to their male foes.

LITTLE, BROWN & Co. Boston, have published "The Spirit of '76, or the Coming Woman; a Prohetic Drama," followed by "Change of Base" and "Doctor Mondschein," amateur dramas which have been played here during the present season. These plays are understood to be written by Mrs. Daniel S. Curtis, wife of one of our wealthiest brokers. They are intended to ridicule the woman's rights movements.

THE lecture delivered last evening on the subject of temperance, in the Baptist Church, by Miss Jennie Graves, was an able and impressive one, and listened to with great attention by a large and appreciative audience. Miss G. is well entitled to her rapidly growing reputation as an orateress. After speaking nearly an hour, she closed.

THE colony of young ladies who sailed from New York some two years ago for Washington territory is said to have been quite successful. All got comfortable homes within two weeks after their arrival out, and what is better still, all but three have since married.

MISS ELIZA TUPPER will preach at Menasha, Wis., next Sunday, and for a few Sundays following. Miss Tupper has filled our appointments at Morrison and Malta, during the last two weeks, most acceptably. All recognize in her the promise of future usefulness. She has crowded congregations who have demanded sermons on week-day evenings, as well as on Sundays. Our women preachers are making their mark. The *Gospel Banner* says that Rev. Mrs. Hanaford is in great repute as a preacher in the neighborhood of Boston.—*New Covenant.*

ENGLISH WOMEN AND WORK.—Miss Maria Rye has just brought a hundred young women from England to Canada, where they have been warmly welcomed by the people, and where she has obtained for them employment. The whole business was admirably arranged and successfully accomplished. She has written a letter offering to return to England and select and fetch out another hundred women, if the authorties will aid her in the undertaking. She says: "I reckon the cost per head to be about £6 sterling, and if your Government will furnish me funds, I shall be only too happy to return and fetch a similar party, knowing, as I do, that while I am in this way adding to your comforts, I am lessening our sorrows at home—work in England being now so cruelly scarce for women, and so disgracefully underpaid, the natural result of over-population, etc., and will only be cured by emigration." Miss Rye deserves great credit for the practical benefit she is conferring upon the needy members of her sex.

A WOMEN'S PAPER IN PORTUGAL.—The Female Question is making strange progress. From a city so little likely to be stirred by sentiment as Lisbon we have received several numbers of a paper called *A Voz Feminina* which is written by ladies and devoted to the cause of woman's emancipation. The chief editor is Madame Francisca D'Assis Martinz Wood, the Portuguese wife of an English gentleman. Space is given to fiction, poetry, music history, and fashions; the latter being described in French. *A Voz Feminina* would be useful to persons who are studying Portuguese.—*London Athanæum.*

ANYTHING in the shape of a personal budget from Montgomery would be sadly incomplete without mention of Miss Charlotta Thompson, the actress. Miss Thompson owns a plantation five miles from town, where she spends her time with her mother when not on professional tours. She has about one thousand five hundred acres, two-thirds of which are devoted to the cultivation of cotton. She has the reputation of being a remarkably capable woman in business affairs, though with all her tact and excutive talent, she has made nothing during the last two years. The cabins of her hired negroes are models of neatness and comfort. Often of a summer morning she rises with the sun, mounts a favorite pony, and in person directs the gangs at work in the field. She keeps all the accounts, makes all contracts and superintends all the buying and selling. I fear, however, that the next time I see her in *Julia*, I shall be led to suspect when she buries her face in her handkerchief just before wildly sobbing. "Why don't you speak to me Clifford!" that her mind is engrossed with the latest bulletin about the army worm, or the evening dispatches from Liverpool. In Ophelia's mad scene there would be no special impropriety in her whispering with a vacant stare: "Uplands 22 cents and excited."

ALSO of the celebrated actress: Miss Cushman's Saturday receptions seem to assemble the pleasantest elements of artistic and social life in Rome. She herself is a host in entertaining her guests: her singing is somewhat peculiar and characteristic; it is intensely dramatic, and impresses one powerfully. Her singing of Kingley's "Mary go and ca' the cattle hame" is something I shall never forget. One holds his breath and shivers as she brings out "the cruel foam—the hungry, crawling foam."

AN American visitor in Rome thus speaks of our great sculptress: Miss Hosmer has got a very vivacious manner, a little abrupt and very decided, and when she speaks in clear, ringing tones, in moments when you or she have just said something that pleases her, her expression and manner are exceedingly charming, and her laugh, which came often while we were there, is one of the most musical I have heard.

LITERARY.

JUNE MONTHLIES.—Since the last notice we have received the *Radical*, *Public Spirit* (which contains an answer to Mr. Crowly's article in the May number, on Woman's Rights, writen by "Jennie June)," the *Northern Monthly*, the *Phrenological Journal*, the *Herald of Health*, and the *Ladies' Repository*. Next month we will give our readers a more extended account of the magazines as they are issued.

HIGHLAND RAMBLES.—Adams & Co., of Boston, have issued this nicely-bound poem of 182 pages, containing a number of beautiful passages. Its author is William B. Wright.

MAN AND HIS RELATIONS.—We hope soon to give our readers a review of this work. W. A. Townsend & Adams, New York.

JOSEPH GRIMALDI.—This life of the noted English clown, written by Dickens, has been sent us by the Petersons, Philadelphia. It is a pamphlet of 192 pages, large print, and is well worth its low price, fifty cents.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

A House to Let. Charles Dickens. Peterson & Bros., Philadelphia.

The Uncommercial Traveller. The same.

The Pic-nic Papers. The same.

Peveril of the Peak. Sir Walter Scott. The same.

The Fortunes of Nigle. The same.

Prison Hygiene. J. H. Griscorn, M.D. Van Benthuysen, Albany, N. Y.

American Educational Monthly. Schemerhorn & Co., New York.

Every Saturday. Ticknor & Fields, Boston.

☞ Among the most readable and instructive of our Religious exchanges, we take pleasure in refering to the *Liberal Christian*, published by the New York Publication Society, J. N. Hallock, Manager, Box 6,695. It is a large plainly printed and ably conducted journal, which cannot fail to exert a beneficial influence in any family where it is read.

A NEW VOLUME.—THE PICTORIAL PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL for July contains portraits of many distinguished Men, and Beautiful Women. European and Asiatic Beauties—English, French, German, Russian, Grecian, Swedish, Austrain, Polish, Swiss, Dutch, Turkish, and Japanese; also, Lord Brougham, Abbott Lawrence, Zadok Pratt; Peter Von Cornelius; Verdi; Miss Pittsinger; and twelve Roman Catholic Prelates and Priests; Mahomet and his Religion. "The Development Theory," by Prof. Gill; Lady Dafferty, or the Woman Question; Thirteen National Types of Female Beauty; Professional Instruction in Practical Phrenology; Indians and Mountains of Oregon; a French Educator on American Schools, and much other very interesting matter. A new volume begins with this number, only $3, a year, or $1.50 for six months. Address S. R. WELLS, 389 Broadway, New York.

PENNSYLVANIA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION.—*Harrisburg, June* 11.—In the State Medical Association, this morning, Dr. Stills, of New York, and Dr. Elmer, of New Jersey, were introduced as corresponding delegates. Dr. Atlee, of Philadelphia, offered a resolution interpreting the code of ethics to allow the admission of women as physicians. Dr. Hetler, of Philadelphia, asked Dr. Atlee if he would also admit negroes. Dr. Atlee responded "yes." The woman resolution was defeated by 37 to 45. Resolutions were introduced condemning the publication of indecent and so-called medical advertisements in newspapers.

Financial Department.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.—*America versus Europe—Gold, like our Cotton, FOR SALE. Greenbacks for Money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Foreign Manufactures Prohibited. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for AMERICAN Steamships and Shipping. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor. If Congress Vote One Hundred and Twenty-five Millions for a Standing Army and Freedman's Bureau for the Blacks, Cannot they spare One Million for the Whites?*

THE REVOLUTION.

NO. XXV.

To our Servants at Washington from the People at Home.

STEALING AS A "FINE ART"—CONGRESSIONAL LAND JOBS.

OUR Washington government has become emphatically a "government of claim agents" Claim agents own members of Congress and honorable senators. The people and the people's rights are treated with contempt by these thieves and their official allies. The Kansas land jobs are the most infamous and impudent frauds ever perpetrated on the people. The entire delegation from Kansas gave their consent and ratified these atrocious frauds on their own citizens These honorable representatives of the people have ratified in secret session the sale of public lands to speculators for one dollar per acre, without giving the people or settlers who first took possession of the land a chance to buy, although it was well known to Senator Pomeroy and others that they were willing to pay the government double the price realized from the sale to the speculators.

SENATORS POMEROY ROSS, AND HON. SIDNEY CLARKE.

The Kansas congressional delegation consists of these three members—Senators Pomeroy, and Ross, and Hon. Sidney Clarke. These honorable gentlemen in the Cherokee land sale were the active tools of the land speculators in their schemes to swindle the settlers and the nation. These sharks will realize millions

out of these "congressional land jobs, engineered by Pomeroy, Ross and Sidney Clarke. Senator Pomeroy testified that these lands *were worth four dollars per acre*, and yet a few days afterwards *this honorable senator voted in secret session to* ratify the sale of these same lands in 1866, giving them to speculators *for one dollar* per acre.

SOME OF THE LAND SPECULATORS.

The Indian Bureau disposed of 1,500,000 acres of Indian trust lands at the average price of $1.10 a $1.25 per acre, from January 1, 1867 to January 1, 1868. The whole of these sales were a gigantic fraud upon the nation, and none of them will stand the trial of a test suit in the Supreme Court. Apart from the circumstances attending each transaction, the Indian lands are not the property of the Indians in any sense which enables them to convey the same or grant a title therefor. They possess merely the right of occupancy, the title and reversion remaining in the government of the United States, subject to all the conditions imposed by law on the other public lands. Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, bought at these illegal sales 124,000 acres, and a friend of his 143,000, and yet another friend 800,000 acres. L. L. Smith, President of the Missouri Railroad Company, took 92,598 acres. The immense quantities bought by single individuals are evidence of the evils of these transactions, and the monopolies they create, hostile to the public weal and a barrier to national progress.

THESE CONGRESSIONAL LAND JOBS ILLEGAL.

The settlers on these lands will do well not to submit to the wrong inflicted on them by Congress. *The whole of these secret land sales are illegal.* The best legal opinions are unanimous that the Supreme Court will so decide, and the settlers will do well to make up a case and bring it before that court without delay. The frauds will not bear investigation.

ANOTHER LAND JOB OF THE THIEVES.

Another attempt to steal the property of the nation is now before the Senate, under the name of the Osage treaty. This infamous treaty is a *proposition to give a Chicago speculator eight millions acres of land without paying the United States gonernment one dollar.* This speculator simply promises to pay the Indians, who are the assumed owners of the land in question, *twenty-cents* per acre, at some time or other, during the next fifteen years. If the Senate dares to ratify this shameless swindle, the enterprising Chicago genius and his senatorial and congressional ring of thieves will net a clear profit of $24,000,000 over and above all expenses, or three dollars per acre, every dollar of which belongs to the tax-ridden people, and ought to go into the National Treasury instead of the pockets of these land pirates and their confederates in the Senate and House.

A WARNING TO CONGRESS.

The people are becoming alive to the shameless corruption of their representatives at Washington. These land jobs are raising a storm, of which honorable senators and representatives little dream. The same power that annihilated the tyranny and corruption of southern slaveholders yet lives in full vigor, ready and willing to perform the same work of annihilation on all those who dare to trifle with the rights of the people. In what respect are Senators Pomeroy and Ross, and the Hon. Sidney Clarke, better than the worst slaveholding southerner who lived by robbing the colored people of the proceeds of their labor? These honorable gentlemen, by ratifying the Cherokee land sale, have robbed their constituents, white and colored citizens, of millions of dollars. If the Senate ratifies the Osage treaty, in what respect are they better than the Southern slaveholders who robbed the colored people of the fruits of their bodily toil? If the Senate ratify the Osage treaty they rob white and colored citizens of at least $24,000,000 to enrich a ring of land thieves. The same power that crushed the southern slaveholding thieves will crush you, honorable senators and representatives, if you do not put a stop to this stealing of the people's property. Tax-ridden and impoverished, the people are in no mood to be trifled with.

Talk among the Brokers in Wall Street.

KEEP, BAXTER AND OTHER CLIQUE LEADERS RETURN FROM THEIR GREAT WESTERN CHAMPAGNE JAMBOREE.

WALL STREET AND THE PUBLIC TO BE STUCK WITH "CONFIDENTIAL POINTS" ON NORTH WESTERN, MICHIGAN SOUTHERN AND ROCK ISLAND.

THE NORTH WEST PREFERRED INJUNCTION SUITS, A "BIG THING" FOR KE EP & LOCKWOOD'S.

THE "DEAR PUBLIC" TO BE AWAKENED TO THE "GREAT VALUE" OF THE CLIQUE STOCKS.

"CHAPLAIN" HATCH STILL IN THE WEST EXHORTING HIS FRIENDS AND PRAYING FOR BETTER TIMES IN WALL STREET.

ST. HUMPHREY DAVY CRAWFORD, CHICAGO CARVER, BANKRUPTCY MAXWELL, AT LOGGERHEADS WITH CONTINENTAL MURDOCK ABOUT LEAVING CONTINENTAL MURDOCK OUT IN THE COLD ON THE ROCK ISLAND SETTLEMENT.

THE CLIQUES DISTRESSED AT THE "DEAR PUBLIC" RUSHING INTO GOVERNMENTS, STATE STOCKS AND RAILWAY BONDS, AND LEAVING THEIR "CHEAP WATERED" RAILWAY STOCKS ALONE.

BEAU BRUMMELL BLOODGOOD AND THE PITTSBURG DIVIDEND.—THE MONEY BORROWED TO PAY THE DIVIDEND TO HELP THE CLIQUE TO GET OUT OF THE STOCK.

MORE SUITS AGAINST ALPHABET HUGHES WITH THE REGULAR BOARD.—DR. LAMONT, LIKE MICAWBER, ON HIS NATIVE "HEATH," EX-PATENT MEDICINE DOCTOR AND DE FACTO WALL STREET BROKER BLACK BALLED AT THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB THE OTHER EVENING.

THE BANKS AND MONEY LENDERS FRIGHTENED ABOUT THE CLIQUE STOCKS.—THE CLIQUES IN A FIX AND WANTING TO UNLOAD BEFORE THE FALL.

DESPERATE EFFORTS TO UNLOAD ON THE "DEAR PUBLIC" IN NORTH WEST, MICHIGAN SOUTHERN, ROCK ISLAND, PITTSBURG & READING.

LORD CORNWALLIS "CHANGES HIS BASE" AND THINKS READING "DIRT CHEAP AT 100," ALTHOUGH IT WAS AN "AWFUL SELL" A SHORT TIME AGO AT 90.

"THE DAILY SQUIB" "CHANGING ITS BASE" FROM "BEAR" TO "BULL" ON STOCKS.—READING THE CARD!!

THE GREAT MEN OF WALL STREET ALLOWED TO "CHANGE THEIR BASE" FOR A PROPER CONSIDERATION.

HENRY CLEWS OUT IN A FLAMING CIRCULAR, "GOVERNMENTS" VERSUS "RAILROAD STOCKS."

CLEWS DON'T MEAN TO BE CAUGHT WITH A LOAD OF STOCKS IN THE FALL, AND WARNS HIS CUSTOMERS TO LET THEM ALONE.

WALL STREET IN A MUDDLE.—WHAT WILL BECOME OF THE CLIQUES?

The talk in Wall street is about the cliques and clique stocks and what is to be the end of it, that

GEN. BAXTER AND SELOVER

are giving all their friends confidential points to buy North West, Michigan Southern & Rock Island, and that they show the tickets of the stocks they buy, but take good care to say nothing about the tickets of the

STOCKS THEY SELL,

that they are unloading all they can and mean

TO GET OUT IF THEY CAN

before August. The talk is that

CHAPLAIN HATCH THE RUEFUL

has been left behind in the West to rope in as many as he can there, and the cliques if they can't sell to the public mean to borrow on as small margins as possible and let the banks and money lenders carry them after the fashion of the

CUMBERLAND COAL PARTY

when that valuable security was run up to 90 and lodged as a

COLLATERAL AT 40 TO 60.

The talk is that the only safe way to escape loss is to

LET THE STOCK MARKET ALONE,

that it matters not whether you buy long or sell short, the cliques are sure to take your money, just as they did with

GOODYEAR BROTHERS AND DURAND,

that nobody stands any chance in stocks. The talk is that

GOVERNMENT BONDS

are the only safe thing to touch, that they are sure to go a great deal higher, and that

STATE STOCKS AND RAILWAY BONDS

are advancing five and ten per cent. at a jump from the actual demand for investment. The talk is that the

BANKS ARE REFUSING STOCKS AS COLLATERALS.

The talk is that

HENRY CLEWS

has hit the nail on the head in his circular of "Governments *versus* Railroad Stocks," that

CLEWS KNOWS

what he is about and sees which way the tide is flowing, and that he don't mean to be

SWAMPED WITH A LOAD OF STOCKS

when the crash comes and

NORTH WEST PREFERRED

takes an eccentric movement

FROM 83 TO 56,

as it did last year, and may do again this year. The talk is that

CLEWS SAYS

his friend the cashier of a great National bank is a first rate fellow, although he did keep a

CHEAP BOARDING HOUSE,

but he don't mean to let him squeeze any more

SEVEN PER CENT. IN GOLD INTEREST

out of him, and that with governments as collaterals, he can be independent of his friend the bank cashier with his 7 per cent. gold interest, and "a—— vail" him self of other channels for loans besides the

BANK OF COMMERCE.

The talk is that everybody ought to

READ CLEWS' CIRCULAR,

and as "THE REVOLUTION" wants to let everybody have everything that is good for them, we here give cheap for ten cents a single copy, "REVOLUTION" and all included, the remarkable circular of that remarkable man, Henry Clews, which will save thousands of dollars to every one that has the brains and pluck to act on it, but

DON'T SELL SHORT.

HENRY CLEW'S CIRCULAR.

GOVERNMENTS *versus* RAILROAD STOCKS.

Observers of the recent course of business in Wall street cannot have failed to note, as among the causes diverting investors to Government Securities, the growing indisposition to invest in railroad stocks at the current quotations. Many have lately sold out stocks and bought bonds; while the investment orders for the former have for some time been unusually limited. This disfavor toward stocks may be partially owing to the recent ex-

tensive "watering" of the capital of leading roads by stock dividends, and to the constant recurrence of embarrassing law suits against Directors; but it appears to be more due to a growing impression that the condition of our railroad companies has not been improved, during the last five or six years, to an extent proportionate to the rise in their stocks within that period. With a view to ascertaining what just ground there is for this idea, we have collated, from the official reports of the leading companies, statistics showing the resources, liabilities, earnings, expenses and mileage of the roads, in the fiscal years ending 1862 or 1863, and also in 1867 or 1868, the details of which we give in an accompanying statement, while the results are shown in the following comparison:

ASSETS, LIABILITIES, EARNINGS AND EXPENSES OF 21 LEADING RAILROADS IN 1862-3 AND 1867-8.

	1862–3	1867–8	Increase in 1867–8.
Road owned and leased	Miles 6,047	8,090	2,043
Property and Assets. Value of Road	$27,223,867	$367,522,117	$96,298,310
Property and Assets. Value of Rolling Stock	20,223,122	30,931,307	10,708,375
Property and Assets. Other Assets	29,132,636	54,224,500	25,091,974
Accounts and Cash	18,022,153	28,929,703	10,907,550
Liabilities. Capital Stock	157,871,484	265,928,149	108,456,665
Liabilities. Bonds	156,187,281	164,375,392	8,188,111
Liabilities. Other Liabilities	12,458,030	25,975,351	13,517,321
Surplus Income	13,145,976	24,801,894	11,655,918
Earnings and Expenses. Gross Earnings	61,954,263	123 315,380	61,361,121
Earnings and Expenses. *Operating Expenses	33,188,566	86,096,613	52,907,047
Earnings and Expenses. Net Earnings	28,765,702	37,219,776	8,454,074
Net Earnings per mile	4,757	4,600	Dec. 3 per cent
			Dec. 157

* Including Rents, Taxes, Renewals, Improvements, etc., charged to income.

It will be seen from this comparison that the gross earnings of the roads have increased 99 per cent, within the five years, and the expenses (inclusive of taxes, rents, improvements, etc.,) 160 per cent.; *while the net earnings are only* 30 *per cent. higher.* The average earnings per mile of road owned and leased *have declined* 3 *per cent.* The bonded debts have been increased 5 per cent., and *the capital stock* 69 *per cent.* In 1862-3, the outstanding bonds of these roads aggregated $156,187,281; which, at an average rate of 7 per cent. would require $10,932,109 for the payment of interest; taking that amount from the $28,765,702 of net earnings, a balance of $16,833,593, or 11½ per cent. of the then outstanding stock, remained for the purpose of dividends and construction. In 1867-8, the bonded debt of the same companies was $164,375,392; which, at the foregoing rate, would require $11,506,276 for interest; leaving, out of $37,219,776 of net earnings, $25,713,500 for stock dividends and construction outlays; which is about 9½ per cent. of the $265,828,149 of capital stock then outstanding. *It thus appears that in* 1867-8, *the net earnings, less the interest on bonds, were* 2 *per cent. less, in proportion to the stock, than in* 1862-3. This result we find upon a selection of the best managed and most prosperous roads of the country. The public have noted the large gain in the gross earnings of the roads, without duly taking into account the increase of working expenses, the extension of mileage and the immense issues of new stock (which have been much further augmented since the latter of the above dates); and from this imperfect view of the condition of the roads, stocks are now held at very much higher prices than in 1862-3. For the purpose of illustrating this change in the prices of stock, without any corresponding improvement in the finances of the roads, we present the following comparative quotations of such of the stocks of the above instanced companies as were current on the New York Stock Exchange at both periods:

	June 2, 1862	June 1, 1868.	Advance in 1868.
New York Central	88¾	136	47¾
Hudson River	44¼	143¼	99
New York and Harlem	14	126	112
Erie	37¼	68¾	31½
Pitts. Fort Wayne and Chicago	35	115½	80½
Cleveland and Pittsburg	22	88¾	66¾
Philadelphia and Reading	49	95¾	46¾
Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati	130	108	decline 12
Mich. South and N. Indiana	25½	90¼	64¾
Mich. Central	62½	120½	58
Chicago, Burlington and Quincy	72½	150½	78
Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific	63	96½	83½
Illinois Central	62¼	149¼	87
Cleveland and Toledo	44½	110	65½
New Jersey	132	130	decline 2
Total prices, 16 Stocks	872	1,723	

It thus appears that, while the per centage of earning available for dividends was less in 1867 than in 1862-3 yet the prices of stocks average 100 per cent. higher now than then. Nor does the fact of the earnings of the roads having this year largely increased upon those of 1867 (on which year our comparison is based) materially affect this conclusion; for, within the last twelve months, ten of the companies above instanced have increased their stock in the aggregate $40,000,000. Facts thus bear out the instincts of investors, and warrant the preference at present awarded to Government securities.

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No. 32 Wall street.

THE MONEY MARKET

is easy at 3 to 4 per cent. on United States securities and 4 to 5 per cent. on railway shares and mixed collaterals. Prime business notes are wanted at 5 to 6 per cent. The weekly bank statement shows a remarkable increase of $3,364,742 in legal tenders, while the loans are decreased $1,024,416, and the deposits are increased $813,622.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks compared with the preceding week:

	June 13th	June 20th	Differences.
Loans,	$275,152,054	$274,117,608 Dec.	$1,024,416
Specie,	11,193,631	9,124,830 Dec.	2,068,801
Circulation,	34,166,846	34,119,120 Dec.	47,726
Deposits,	210,670,765	211,484,387 Inc.	813,622
Legal-tenders,	69,262,840	72,567,582 Inc.	3,364,742

THE GOLD MARKET

was active throughout the week, selling as high as 141¼, and as low as 140. The market is firm and the stock of gold on the market is light.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Saturday, 13,	140	140	139⅞	140
Monday, 15,	140¼	140¼	140	140¼
Tuesday, 16,	140¼	140¼	140	140⅛
Wednesday, 17,	140¼	141¼	140⅜	140⅝
Thursday, 18,	140⅜	140⅜	140	140⅜
Friday, 19,	140⅜	140⅜	140¼	140¼
Saturday, 20,	140¼	140⅜	140¼	140¼
Monday, 22,	140⅜	140⅜	140⅛	140⅜

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

is quiet and steady. Commercial bills are scarce and bankers are not anxious to sell below the specie shipping point. The quotations are bankers sixty days sterling bills 110 to 110¼, and sight 110⅜ to 110½. Francs on Paris long 5.13¾ to 5.12½; and short, 5.11¼ to 5.10.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

is dull but steady. Operations are confined entirely to the cliques, and the ease in the money market enables them to maintain an advance of prices at their pleasure

Musgrave & Co., 19 Broad street, report the following quotations:

Canton, 49¾ to —; Boston W. P., 15 to 18; Cumb. Coal, 33 to 35; Wells, Fargo & Co., 26⅝ to 7⅛; American Express, 50¾ to —¾; Adams Express, 55⅛ to —⅛; United States Express, 52 to —½; Merchant's Union Express, 27⅜ to —⅛; Quicksilver, 25 to —¾; Mariposa, 4¼ to 5; do. preferred, 9¼ to—⅜; Pacific Mail, 103 to —⅛; Atlantic Mail, 31 to 34; W. U. Tel., 35¾ to 36; New York Central, 134⅜ to 34; Erie, 69¾ to 70; preferred, 75 to 76½; Hudson River, 139½ to 140; Reading, 102 to —⅜; Tol. W. & W., 47¾ to 48; preferred, 68½ to 69; Mil. & St. P., 65¼ to 65¾; preferred 68½ to 69; Ohio & M. C. 29½ to 99⅝; Mich. Cen., 116½ to 111; Mich. South, 91½ to 91⅝; Ill. Central, 156 to 158; Cleveland & Pittsburg, 91 to 91⅜; Cleveland & Toledo, 103⅞ to 104¼; Rock Island, 105⅞ to 106; North Western, 66¾ to 66½; preferred, 77⅝ to 77¾; Fort Wayne, 111⅜ to 111½; Bank'rs & Bro. 107½ to 108.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

have been quiet, but firm throughout the week. The investment demands continues steady, owing to the low rates of interest. State bonds, Railway Mortgages, and all investment securities are active and higher, and the demand is in excess of the supply. Capitalists find difficulty in obtaining sufficient amounts of railway bonds to vary their investments, as they would like to do with the governments they hold. The demand for the Central Pacific Railroad bonds at 103, and interest is so largely in excess of the company's wants, that it is likely the price will be advanced to 105 in the course of a short time. The Union Pacific is selling its bonds freely at 102 and interest. The bonds of both these Pacific roads pay 6 per cent. interest in gold. Another first class railway bond, the first mortgage bonds of the Rockford Rock Island and St. Louis Railway Company, have just been placed upon the market at the low price of 95; *they pay* 7 *per cent. interest in gold* semi-annually, on February 1st and August 1st, in New York or London, at the option of the holder, *free of any government tax.* The first coupon is payable on February 1st 1869. Each bond is for $1,000 or for £200 sterling, and *both principal and interest are payable in coin.* The bonds are also convertible into stock at the option of the holder. These bonds are issued at the rate of $25,000 per mile, and they cover all the coal mines belonging to the company which are among the most valuable in Illinois, as well as the railroad property. These bonds are well secured and a safe investment.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

Reg. 1881, 112½ to—¾; Coupon, 111⅝ to —¾; Reg. 5-20, 1862, 109⅝ to —¾; Coupon, 5-20, 1862, 113⅛ to —⅝; Reg. 5-20, 1864, 109¾ to —½; Coupon, 5-20, 1864, 111, to ⅛; Reg. 5-20, 1865, 109⅝ to —¾; Coupon, 5-20, 1865, 111½ to —⅝; Coupon, 5-20, 1865, new, 114 to —⅛; Coupon, 6-20, 1867, 114⅛ to ⅛; Reg. 10-40, 106¼ to —⅜; Coupon, 10-40, 106⅝ to —¾; 7 3-10, 110 to —¼.

THE CUSTOMS DUTIES

for the week were $1,866,870 in gold against $1,690,144 last week, $1,905,007, and $2,258,144 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were $4,465,888 in gold against $5,013,085 $4,259,340 and $5,625,567 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were $2,359,561 in currency, against $2,546,370 £2,692,824 and $3,657,521 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were $1,890,532,67 against $2,967,321, $3,575,594 and $4,211,753 for the preceding weeks.

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3. In Social Life.—Practical Education, not Theoretical; Fact, not Fiction; Virtue, not Vice; Cold Water, not Alcoholic Drinks or Medicines. Devoted to Morality and Reform, The Revolution will not insert Gross Personalities and Quack Advertisements.

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